

THE
CHEVALIER
DE ST. GEORGE
AND THE
JACOBITE
MOVEMENTS
1701-1720



From
R. Ainslie Grant Duff

Delgaty -

1901

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J. A. MacLaren



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No. IV.

The Chevalier de St. George

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PRINCE JAMES FRANCIS STUART
CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE

*From a Miniature in the possession of
the University of Aberdeen*

SCOTTISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY
WRITERS. No. IV.

The Chevalier de St. George

AND

The Jacobite Movements in his Favour

1701-1720

EDITED BY

CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, M.A.

UNIVERSITY LECTURER IN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY

OF ABERDEEN ; AUTHOR OF

'THE LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS OF ALEXANDER LESLIE'

ETC.

O Calidon, O Calidon, look back from whence ye fell,
And from your sufferings learn your crime, and nere again rebell,
Redeem your antient liberties, regain your rights and laws,
Restore your injurd lawfull Prince, or perish in the cause.

Song to the tune of 'OLD LONG SYNE.'

LONDON

DAVID NUTT 57-59 LONG ACRE

1901

Edinburgh : T. and A. CONSTABLE, (late) Printers to Her Majesty

PREFACE

THE efforts of the Jacobites to destroy the established *régime* in Great Britain were persistent in the first half of the eighteenth century, and fall within two periods which are roughly divided by the long and peaceful administration of Walpole in the reigns of George the First and George the Second. Before and after that period of peace France and England were engaged upon a contest for supremacy, out of which the latter emerged victorious under the elder Pitt. In the exiled Stuarts France possessed a dangerous weapon against her adversary, and though her use of it throughout was selfish rather than magnanimous and disinterested, dependence upon French aid became a settled principle with the Jacobites, who therein repeated the traditional policy of the Scottish nationalists in the reigns of the Edwards. Hence the periods of war between England and France are broadly-speaking those of Jacobite activity.

I have dealt with the Rising of 1745 under Prince Charles Edward in another volume.¹ In the present one my endeavour is to narrate from contemporary sources the story of the earlier attempts in favour of his father, the Chevalier de St. George. Down to the year 1719 the Chevalier was resolute and indefatigable in his determination to seize every opportunity to establish himself upon the throne which his father had sacrificed. Encouraged in 1701 by Louis the Fourteenth's solemn undertaking to befriend him, the Chevalier and his advisers at once employed the notorious Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat, to sound the disposition of Scotland towards him. The wide-spread discontent aroused in that country by the Union with England in 1707 brought about the abortive expedition of the following year, which the Chevalier supported by his presence, and France with men, money, and munitions. Then followed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and Louis's enforced abandonment of his *protégé*, followed in 1715 by Louis's death and the advent of a government in France, under Orléans and Dubois, too pacifically inclined towards England to countenance the Chevalier's projects. Yet the

¹ *The Rising of 1745: with a Bibliography of Jacobite History*, 1689-1788. London (D. Nutt). 1900.

crisis which arose in England in the last months of Anne's reign and the unpopularity of her successor counterbalanced to some degree the loss of France's aid, and the Chevalier once more sailed to Scotland in 1715, too late to retrieve a cause already lost, or to rally his English partisans into action. In 1717 Charles the Twelfth of Sweden's quarrel with England regarding the Duchies of Bremen and Verden aroused brief hopes that in him might be found Louis the Fourteenth's successor. But until 1718 no champion appeared, when Cardinal Alberoni summoned the Chevalier from Rome to witness the ill-managed effort which ended on the field of Glenshiel.

With the accession of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance in January 1720 Europe entered upon a period of peace, which, so far as the Jacobites were concerned, was not broken until the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession and the appearance of Prince Charles Edward in Scotland in 1745. These pages, therefore, present the history of the first period of active Jacobite intrigue in the eighteenth century.

Save for the '15, the period set forth in this volume will probably be unfamiliar, at least in any detail, to all but the few to whom the scattered

materials for its study are accessible. For this reason, in particular, I have aimed at providing as full, detailed, and connected a narrative as is possible. For the same reason I have added an Index of Persons.

Upon Lockhart's *Memoirs* I have drawn considerably. Particularly I have used him to suggest the Scottish patriotic atmosphere which surrounded the attempts to restore the Chevalier. For the Scots Plot of 1703 it is impossible to find any completely reliable contemporary account. Lockhart's is vitiated by his prejudice regarding Queensberry's complicity in the plot. Major Fraser's *Manuscript* affords little insight into Lovat's tortuous conduct. As to that unprincipled schemer's own *Report*, it is always difficult to know when he is speaking the truth. Fortunately the *Reports* of the two Murrays who watched his proceedings, and the evidence of witnesses in the *Collection of Original Papers about the Scots Plot*, are available to check the accuracy of his and other narratives of the affair. For the account of the Attempt of 1708 I have drawn largely upon Hooke's *Report* to Chamillart, Charles Fleming's account of his journey to Scotland, and the letters of Matignon, Bernières, and d'Andrezel, which relate the fortunes of the

French expedition. These will be found, I think, vivid and interesting. They are printed for the first time at length and *verbatim* from a comparatively rare pamphlet of 1760. Forbin's delightfully racy account of the expedition has not been given before, so far as I can find, in its completeness. Melfort's *Memoirs*, which I have used for the period 1708 to 1713, are not referred to by his biographer, Mr. J. G. Alger, in his article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The original copy of them bears the old-style date 1714, and must have been published between Melfort's death in January 1715 and the following March 25, when the old-style New Year commenced. On the face of them the *Memoirs* bear evidence of having been written for publication, but there seems no reason to doubt that they accurately express the Chevalier's views and policy within the period they cover. For the early period of the Rising of 1715 I have been compelled—save for Dennistoun's rare *Loch Lomond Expedition* reprint—to rely almost exclusively upon Rae, whose *History* is exceedingly detailed, but lacking in *verve*, and Sinclair, whose *Memoirs* are delightful reading, but are spoiled by an obtrusive *ego*, and by a prejudice against Mar which to some extent lessens their reliability. It is not easy to find a single contem-

porary narrative which satisfactorily and completely describes the details of a battle. I have therefore pieced together the best accounts of Sheriffmuir, and have annotated them freely wherever additional facts were available. The account I have given is, I hope, full and critical, though it must inevitably present itself as a mosaic rather than a picture. For the later events of the '15, the *Proceedings at Perth* and the *Letter of an Officer* (which, with textual differences, is identical with *Mar's Journal* printed by Patten) throw the fullest light upon the position of the Jacobite army from November to its dissolution in February 1716. It seemed best to treat in a separate chapter the joint attempt of Forster, Mackintosh, and Kenmure to rouse the English Jacobites. Patten, Rae, and Peter Clarke's *Journall* furnish a fairly complete account of that episode. I have but outlined the Swedish Plot of 1717 in some of the correspondence between Gortz and Gyllenborg. The account which I have given of the Attempt of 1719 is based chiefly upon Keith's *Memoir*, Mar's *Abridgement*, and the materials collected by Mr. William K. Dickson and published in his *Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, a most careful and complete work, to which I would express my indebtedness.

In *The Rising of 1745* I have printed a Bibliography of Jacobite history for the period covered by the present volume. I have been careful in the following pages, however, to give references to the authors whom I quote in such a form that their works may be easily found in a library catalogue.

I must acknowledge the kindness of the Earl of Kintore and the Earl of Mar and Kellie in permitting me to reproduce pictures in their collections. Mr. A. H. Millar has allowed me to reproduce the Plan of Glenshiel which he discovered among the Duke of Marlborough's Manuscripts. The Map of Scotland and the Clan Territories is adapted, with Mr. W. B. Blaikie's kind permission, from the complete and exhaustive Map in his *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward*.

C. S. T.

KING'S COLLEGE, OLD ABERDEEN,
April 9, 1901.

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CHAPTER I

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL STANDPOINT

Lockhart, *Memoirs*, 384.¹

NOTWITHSTANDING the false Assertions of the *English* Historians of Old, and the late attempts of the Learned *Usher*² and *Stillingfleet*,³ the great *Mackenzie*⁴ and others have made it clear that the *Scots* Nation is, for its Antiquity, and upon the account of its being governed by a race of Kings of one and the same Lineal Succession, altogether independent, and notwithstanding the many Attempts, yet never Conquered nor under the Dominion of any other Prince or State whatsoever, preferable to all the Nations in *Europe*.

Old *England* indeed will tell you that *Scotland* was not worth the pains of Conquering ; but I must beg

¹ *Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland from Queen Anne's Accession to May 1707* [Lond. 1714].

² James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, died in 1656.

³ Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, died in 1699

⁴ Sir George Mackenzie died in 1691. He was the author of *A Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland* [Lond. 1685].

leave to say, That Reflection is not to be regarded, for 'tis well known the *English* Vanity and Self-conceitedness reaches so far as to despise all Kingdoms but their own and all People but themselves, on which account all the World hates them; but besides, there is no Ground for this Assertion, for 'tis plain the *Romans* were not of this Mind, else they would not have been at so much Pains to reduce the *Scots*, the *Danes*, *Normans*, and *Saxons* (that is to say. all the different Nations that prevailed as soon as they attempted the Conquest of *England*), did not remain satisfied with *England*, but spent much Blood to reduce *Scotland* likewise; but to close up all, Has *England* spared her Blood? No; the many bloody Battles fought in all Ages with various Success manifests the contrary. Did she spare her Treasury? No; the vast Sums expended by her Kings, and to say no more, the late Equivalent testify otherwise. Did she neglect any means fair or foul to reduce *Scotland*? No; King *Henry VII.* preferring the *Scotch* to the *French* King when both demanded his Daughter in Marriage. King *Henry VIII.* desired to Marry his Son to Queen *Mary*, and the great Terms offered afterwards by that Prince to obtain her, the Treacherous dealings of their beloved *Edward I.* in the Case of *Bruce* and *Baliol*, the inciting the Subjects of *Scotland* to Rebel against, and the ungenerous Murder of Queen *Mary* by their Pious Queen *Elizabeth*, and the constant Bribes bestowed by the Ministers of *England* since

the Accession of the *Scots* Race to that Crown, are all, besides many more here omitted, evident Proofs that *England* coveted nothing so much as a Reduction of *Scotland*.

That this should be so is no strange thing ; for tho' *Scotland* is not the best, neither is it the worst Country in *Europe*, and God has blessed it with all Things fit for Human use, either produced in the Country it self, or Imported from Foreign Countries by Barter with its Product, so that the Necessaries and even Comforts and Superfluities of Life are as plentiful there as any where else.

As for the Inhabitants, none I think will deny them to have been a Brave, Generous, Hardy People ; if any do, there's no Nation in *Europe* but can furnish Instances of Heroic Actions performed by *Scot[s]men*, who have been Honoured and Employed in the greatest Trusts in later and former Ages ; and that this has not been confined to some single Persons starting up now and then (which happens in the most dasterdly Countries), but that they have constantly behaved themselves well, the *French* and *English* may be allowed competent Judges to determine. The former, in old Times, owed much to the *Scots* Valour in assisting them against the later ; and these having in many pitched Battles, besides a Thousand Skirmishes and Incursions, found the sad effects of it, and even in this present Age have not been a little obliged to the

Scotch Valour in the Wars with *France*, tho' when they Conquered for *England* they did but drive the *English* Chains so much the harder and faster upon *Scotland*; but I need not insist upon what all Histories agree in, and since a full Account of the Atchievements of the *Scots* Heroes is shortly expected from Dr. *Abercrombie*.¹

As the *Scots* were a Brave, so likewise [were they] a Polite People; every Country has its own peculiar Customs, and so had *Scotland*, but in the main they lived and were refined as other Countries; and this won't seem strange, for the *English* themselves allow the *Scots* to be a Wise and Ingenious People, for say they to a Proverb, *They never knew a Scots Man a Fool*. And if so, What should hinder them from being as well bred and civilized as any other People? Those of Rank (as they still do) travelled Abroad into foreign Countries for their Improvement, and vast numbers, when their Country at home did not require their Service, went into that of forreign Princes, from whence, after they had gained immortal Honour and Glory, they returned home; and as it is obvious that at this very time (which must chiefly proceed from this humour of Travelling) the *Scotch* Gentry do far exceed those of *England*, so that in the one you shall find all the Accomplishments of well-bred Gentlemen, and in your Country *English* Esquires all the Barbarity imaginable, so

¹ *The Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation*, by Dr. Patrick Abercrombie, was published in 2 vols. folio in 1711.

doubtless the odds was the same, nay, greater in former Ages; for the *Scots* took as great care to improve themselves then as now; whereas 'tis well known that it is but of late that any Inclination to Travel has seized the *English* (tho' not near to such a Degree as in *Scotland*), and that the Improvement of their Gentry is much owing to their being employed of late in the Armies Abroad. At Home the *Scots* King kept a Court to which resorted Ambassadors from Forreign Princes, and to whom again Ambassadors were sent from *Scotland*; and that the *Scotch* Court was sufficiently splendid may be easily guessed at, were it from no more but the stately Fabricks of King *James* the v.th's Palaces (*viz.*, *Stirling*, *Linlithgow*, *Faulkland*, and *Holy[r]ood-house*), he being the best lodged Prince of any in *Europe* at that time, from the Acts of Parliament regulating the Apparel and Attendants of People of all Ranks, and mentioning the numerous Offices belonging to the King's Family, and from the high and honourable Offices of State.

As *Scotland* was a Brave and Polite Nation, so likewise from thence arose great Numbers famous in all Ages for all kinds of Learning; here the Christian Religion soon took Footing, and was preserved in Purity when most other Nations were corrupted; and tho' in Process of time the Church of *Scotland* became, as did the rest of *Europe*, Subject to the Papal Hierarchy, yet she was amongst the first that shak'd it off. The happy Constitution of

Government, well digested Laws, and regular Courts and Forms of Justice established in *Scotland*, are a plain Proof that the *Scots* were a Wise and Learned People: Besides, the numerous Colonies of Learned Men (as all Histories, and par[t]icularly Dr. *Mackenzie's* late Treatise¹ do give an Account of) furnished by *Scotland* to forreign Countries is an undeniable Testimony of it. Some may hence infer that there was no Encouragement for Learning at Home; but that is a great mistake, for 'tis well known that the Churches and Universities of *Scotland* were not only adorn'd with noble Fabricks, but likewise endowed with considerable Revenues in the time of Popery; and even since the Reformation, there was a more orderly and equal Distribution of the Clergy's Revenues in *Scotland* than in *England*. 'Tis true indeed, in the former none were so largely, or rather, profusely provided as some in the other, but there was none but had a sufficient Competency thereupon to live easily and conveniently (which can't be said of *England*), and before the abolition of Episcopacy, the Bishopricks and Deanries were a sufficient Encouragement for study and had the desired Effect.

I proceed next to consider her Power. And here we shall find *Scotland* courted by all the neighbouring States, and the Kings matching themselves and

¹ Dr. George Mackenzie's *Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation* was published in three volumes, 1708-22.

Daughters with the greatest Potentates. 'Tis true indeed, her Situation led her to have most to do with *England*; and hence it was that she always joined to prevent *England's* growing Power. And this was the Origine of the famous League¹ entered into by *Charlemain* and *Achaius*, a League which their Posterity for many Ages kept so inviolably, and proved so advantageous for both the Kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland* that no History relates the Parallel of it. The *Scots* King was without Doubt a powerful Prince. 'Tis foreign to my Purpose to debate whether he had an absolute or limited Power; so far is certain, he was endowed with a Revenue consisting of Duties upon Trade, the Reddendo's of his Subjects Estates (which all held of him as their Supream Lord and Superior, and did pay a yearly Rent or Few), and the Crown Lands, which sufficiently enabled him to keep a splendid Court and maintain the Dignity of his Royal Character. 'Tis but a late Practice to impose Taxes thro' the Country, and formerly there was no Occasion for them; for when the Nation's Service required, the Subjects were obliged and did attend the Royal Standard, where they maintained themselves, and gave as signal Proofs of Fidelity and Courage as the mercenary Troops now a Days. In

¹ It is curious to notice the fictitious antiquity assigned by Lockhart's age to the 'Ancient League' between France and Scotland, of which the Jacobite period may be said to have been the last active expression.

those happy Days the King fought for the People, and they for the King, against the common Enemy, looking upon their Interests and Prosperity to be reciprocal. And by these Means they did for many Hundreds of Years defend themselves against the powerful Attempts of the *Romans, Picts, Normans, Danes, Saxons*, and Kingdom of *England*, bringing into the Field Armies consisting of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty thousand Men: Nay, not only defended their own Limits, but had Men to spare for the Assistance of their Allies abroad, it being universally known that not only private Persons flocked over to the Assistance of *France*, but even Royal Armies were sent, as during the Captivity of King *James I.*, and afterwards led in Person by King *James V.* when he understood the *French* King was hardly put to it: And I'm told there are still to be seen in *France* authentick Records of that Prince's having lent the *French* King eleven Ships of War, one whereof was the biggest then in *Europe*; which leads me to mention, that not many Years ago, the *Scots* were able to keep their own with, nay, fight and defeat the *English* Fleet at Sea.

Neither were those wanting who did prosecute Trade, and brought home Riches to themselves and the Country; which is sufficiently conspicuous from the many considerable Towns situated over all the Kingdom, where the Merchants lived and followed their Trades and Employments, and from the stipu-

lated Regulations and Priviledges of Trade with *France, Holland, Dantzick*, etc.

To conclude: The *Scots* were a People Loyal to their King, and Zealous Asserters of their Liberties; there needs no greater Proof of the First than the Lineal Succession of so many Kings of one and the same Race and Descent. And where is the Nation can boast of the like? And the other is as evident from the gallant Opposition they made to all Invaders. How manfully did they recover their Country and Liberties under the conspicuous Command of King *Fergus II.*, when their Enemies flattered themselves that the Name of *Scot* was wholly extirpated out of the Island? How highly did they resent *Baliol's* base Surrender of the Independency of the Kingdom? ('tis more as probable, these our Progenitors would never have entered into an Union with *England*). And how courageously did they stand it out under the happy Conduct of King *Robert Bruce* against the reiterated Efforts of *England*, and at last, after the Effusion of much Blood, drive these Invaders out of the Country, and fill their Souls with such an Apprehension of the *Scotch* Valour, that even their own Historians own Fifty *English* would have fled before a Dozen of the *Scots*? And now show me any Country but *Scotland* that can boast of having defended their Liberties so long and so valiantly against a more powerful and numerous People bent upon their Ruin, and that frequently without the Assistance of Allies, and having nothing

to confide in save their own heroick Valour and God's Blessing, by the Means of which they always made good their King's Motto—

Nemo me impune lacesset.

In these happy Circumstances and under this glorious Character was the *Scots* Nation of old. But that kind Providence which had supported her so many Hundreds of Years at last grew weary, and entirely deserted her after King *James VI.*'s Accession to the Throne of *England*. For the Union of the two Crowns may be reckoned the fatal *Era* from whence we are to commence *Scotland's* Ruin. And whoever will consider the History of the two preceeding Reigns, and the Minority of this, may perceive the Face of Affairs mightily altered, and paving as it were the way to accomplish the Ruin of the Kingdom. Formerly the Animosities and Feuds proceeded from the Quarrels of one Family with another, or the Ambition of some aspiring great Man; but then the Authority of the King did dissipate and quash them, and they never, or at least seldom failed to be suspended when the Honour and Defence of the K[in]g or Country required it. And if there was any who did on such Occasions continue obstreperous or side with the Enemy, they were esteemed by all their Fellow Subjects, and declared and treated by the States as Rebels. So that the *English* seldom or never reaped much Advantage of intestine Divisions; and to this unanimous and hearty Concurrence of

all the Subjects towards the Defence of the Country is chiefly to be ascribed the so long Continuance and Duration of the *Scots* Kingdom and Monarchy. But in these later Days, Differences of Religion came in the Play, which stirred up the Consciences of some, and were a fair Pretence to cover and carry on the Ambition and selfish Designs of others. Of which Queen *Elizabeth* taking advantage, so fomented and encouraged these Divisions (by supporting the weaker Party, and keeping the Contenders in an equal Power as possible, that so they might destroy one another) that the Nation was totally divided and at odds. And such Grudges and Heart-burnings arose as have never been abated, far less extinguished, to this very Day, and did at last bring the Kingdom to Ruin. When King *James* succeeded to the Crown of *England*, People were weary of these Disorders, and flattered themselves with the Hopes that now he'd be in a Capacity of establishing Peace and Order. But 'tis amazing, that tho' the People were weary of these Wars, Civil and Foreign, which had raged in the Country for so many preceeding Years, they did not foresee that to be freed thereof by the Union of the two Crowns was such a Chance as to leap out of the Frying-pan into the Fire. For who is it that would not prefer the greatest Hardships attended with Liberty, to a State that deprived him of all means to defend himself against the Oppressions that must inevitably follow? And who is it that would not foresee that

such Consequences would follow the Union of the two Crowns ?

We are told, that when King *James* was preparing to go and take possession of his Crown of *England*, his Subjects of *Scotland* came to take their leave of him and convey him part of his way thither with all the State and Magnificence imaginable ; but amongst these numerous Attendants, deck'd up in their finest Apparel and mounted on their best Horses, there appeared an Old, Reverend Gentleman of *Fyfe*, cloathed all over in the deepest Mourning ; and being asked why, whilst all were contending to appear most Gay on such an occasion, he should be so singular ? Why truly, replied he, there is none of you congratulate his Majesty's good Fortune more than I do, and sure I am, to perform my Duty to him, I have often marched this Road and entered *England* in an Hostile manner, and then I was as well Accoutered in Clothes, Horses, and Arms as my Neighbours, and suitable to the occasion ; but since I look upon this Procession as *Scotland's* Funeral Solemnity, I'm come to perform my last Duty to my deceased and beloved Country, with a Heart full of Grief, and in a Dress corresponding thereto. This Gentleman, it seems, foresaw, that by the removal of the King's Residence from *Scotland*, the Subject wanted an occasion of making so immediate an Application to the Fountain of Justice, and the State of the Nation could not be so well understood by the King ; so that the Interest and Concerns of every

particular Person of the Nation in general would be committed to the care of the Ministers of State, who, acting with a view to themselves, could not fail to oppress the People : He foresaw that *England*, being a greater Kingdom, made (as said *Henry VII.*, when he gave his Daughter to the King of *Scotland* rather than the K[ing] of *France*) an Acquisition of *Scotland*, and that the King would lie under a necessity of siding with and pleasing the most Powerful of his two Kingdoms, which were Jealous of and Rivals to one another, and that therefore, ever after the Union of the Crowns, the King would not mind, at least dare encourage the Trade of *Scotland*, and that all State Affairs would be managed, Laws made and observed, Ministers of State put in and turned out, as suited best with the Interest and Designs of *England* ; by which means Trade would decay, the People be oppressed, and the Nobility and great Men become altogether corrupted. Besides these Inconveniencies which would arise from the Management of Publick Affairs, he likewise foresaw that the very want of the Royal Presence necessarily would occasion other Losses : It deprived the Kingdom of a Court, where was spent the Revenues of the Crown, and which drew Foreigners to the Country and was an Encouragement to Trade, Artificers, and the Manufactures of the Country : So that the Product of the Country would prove a Drug, and the Species of Money be drawn from thence, and vast Numbers be obliged to desert the Kingdom for want of Em-

ployment, and others flock to *London* to make Interest at Court to obtain redress of their Grievances, or Places, or Preferments, which, besides, would not be so numerous as when the Court remained in *Scotland*.

As these and many more such like were the obvious and plain Consequences of the Union of the two Crowns, it is strange the Parliament of *Scotland* took no care to provide at least, that after the Decease of his Majesty, the two Crowns should disunite and be enjoyed by different Stems of the Royal Line. This is what other Nations, nay private Families usually have done. But the truth on't is, the preceeding Glooms and Hopes of better Times drew People in to neglect this Measure, and King *James* proved so kind to his Country-men (many of them he advanced to great Posts in *England*) that others, without thinking, drove on till they had run themselves and Country over Head and Ears into the Gulph, tho' they might easily have foreseen that as a *Pharaoh* arose who proved unmindful of and unkind to the *Jews*, So their beloved King (who, being born and bred amongst them, knew and loved them) could not always live, and would be succeeded by Kings, strangers to them, and would rule them as seemed most for the Advantage of their other Designs. And lastly, in Process of Time the Nobility and Gentry turned, generally speaking, so corrupted by the constant and long Tract of Discouragement to all that endeavoured to rectify the Abuses and advance the

Interest of the Country, that the same was entirely neglected, and Religion, Justice, and Trade made Tools of to advance the private and sinister Designs of selfish Men.

And thus the Nation being for a hundred Years in a manner without a Head, and ravaged and gutted by a Parcel of Renegado's, became, from a flourishing happy People, extreemly miserable, Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water. For at the Union of the two Crowns the odds betwixt *Scotland* and *England* was computed but as one to six ; whereas at the Union of the two Kingdoms, at about one to fifty. The plain Reason of which was, that ever since the *Scots* K[in]g's Accession to the *English* Crown, *Scotland* has been on the decaying Hand, and *England* (and all the States of *Europe*) advancing thorough the Encouragement and Protection they met with in advancing and carrying on their Trade ; but no sooner did *Scots* Men appear inclined to set Matters upon a better footing, than the Union of the two Kingdoms was projected as an effectual Measure to perpetuate their Chains and Misery.

It is beyond the reach of Man to assign Reasons for the good or bad Fate that attends Kingdoms, Families, or single Persons (for the Ways of God are past finding out) ; yet there are two Considerations that I have often reflected on to have had a great share in bringing down those Judgments which have of late fallen upon the Kings and Kingdom of *Scotland* : For since the Union of the two Crowns many and

heavy have been the Misfortunes of both. The first is, the mean spirited Behaviour of K[ing] J[ame]s VI. in not revenging his Mother's Murder. Ought he, with a View of not irritating Queen *Elizabeth*, been guilty of such an unnatural Submission? And was it not a servile Acknowledgment of *England's* Dominion to suffer the sacred Person of the Queen of *Scotland* to be Tried, Condemned, and Executed, without so much as daring to say it was ill done? And was it not a Connivance at the greatest Violation and Encroachment that was ever offered to the Divine Rights of crowned Heads, thus silently to see her treated after such a manner, who was accountable to none but God? How much was he degenerated from the illustrious and generous Stock from whence he sprung? And which of his Royal Progenitors would not have resented it with Fire and Sword? For my part, I'm afraid the Indignation of God was stirred up upon this Account against his Posterity, and that particularly in the Case of his Son, *Charles I.*, God visited the Iniquity of his Father, committed by shewing so little Duty and natural Affection to his Mother, and regard and value for the sacred Rights of crowned Heads. For tho' we often read of Conquerors having dispatched conquered Kings, and Subjects murdering their Sovereigns, yet she was the first Instance of a Royal Pannel, and the only Precedent to the hard Fate of her Grandson.

The other Consideration is, the Share the *Scots* had in the Rebellions against King *Charles I.* and



MAP OF SCOTLAND IN THE JACOBITE PERIOD.

Adapted from the Map in Mr Blaikie's
"Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward."

King *James* II. For sure it was both their Duty and Interest to have assisted and supported them against their Rebellious Subjects of *England*. But to act the part they did was, besides the Folly, such a Crime as I am afraid is not wholly as yet avenged, and has had no [small] share in bringing us to the miserable State to which we are reduced.

The *Jews* were God's peculiar chosen People, and he assured them a more particular and immediate share in the Administration of affairs in Jewry than in other Nations; but upon their Rebelling against Him and His Anointed, he gave them up to the Power and Laws of a Forreign People, and at last subverted their Monarchy, defac'd their Government, destroyed their Country, and as the greatest Temporal Curse, cut them off from having the name of a People on the Face of the Earth. How near a Relation there is betwixt the gross and crying Sins of the *Jews* and those of *Scotland*, and what a resemblance there is in their Punishment, let such who have had any share in Promoting the first or Executing the last seriously consider.¹

¹ There is an excellent account of the growth of Jacobite sentiment to 1707 in Sir Henry Craik's *A Century of Scottish History* [Lond. 1901], vol. i. chap. 1.

CHAPTER II

THE SCOTS PLOT, 1703

SINCE the Revolution of 1689 which had placed William of Orange upon the English throne, the deposed King James the Second had resided in France, a pensioner upon Louis the Fourteenth's bounty. With him in his exile were his wife, Mary of Modena, and their only son, James Francis Edward, born in June 1688, the Chevalier de St. George of the following pages. He was in his fourteenth year when in the autumn of 1701 his father lay dying.

Journal du Marquis de Dangeau, viii. 184.¹

1701. *September 3.*² King James is sinking, and there is little hope of his recovery. He is no longer in a condition to think of travelling to Fontainebleu. . . . The poor king is dying like a saint, and the queen is inconsolable.

September 4. Yesterday afternoon king James

¹ *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau, avec les additions inédites du Duc de Saint-Simon.* Ed. Félix S. Feuillet de Conches [Paris, 1854-60]. The extracts in the text are translated from the original French.

² The dates in this *Journal* are according to the new or Continental style. Old or English style is used throughout these pages unless otherwise stated.

became even worse than he has so far been. At five o'clock the queen told madame de Maintenon that his last moments were approaching, and that he was unconscious. In the evening M. Fagon returned from St. Germain, leaving the king considerably better and more tranquil. He has received the sacraments.

September 5. At two o'clock the king went to St. Germain to visit the king of England, who was anxious to see him before he died. His Majesty . . . found the king of England somewhat better, but they do not think he can live much longer. He has spoken to his son, the prince of Wales, with much piety and emphasis; telling him, that however glittering a crown may seem, there comes a time when it appears worthless; that there is nought else to love and desire but God and eternity; that he must always hold his mother the queen in the highest respect, and show his gratitude to the king, to whose kindness they are so much beholden. He wishes to be buried in the parish church of St. Germain without ceremony and as a poor man. Profoundly touching is the queen's condition. Madame de Maintenon was with her for part of the day.

September 6. The king of England is somewhat better, and it was announced at St. Germain this morning that he had passed a good night. He begged the king yesterday to agree to his wish to be buried at St. Germain without any monument, and

with these words only as an epitaph: *Here lies James II. King of England.*

September 7. The king of England was so ill during the night that the office for the dying was said. He recovered somewhat in the evening.

September 11. The king of England is past hope of recovery.

September 13. The king went to St. Germain's at two o'clock. He first visited the king of England, who opened his eyes for a moment when the king was announced, but closed them directly. The king told him that he had come to assure him, that in regard to the prince of Wales, he might die in peace, for that he would recognise him as king of England, Ireland, and Scotland. The king then went to see the queen of England, to whom also he confided his purpose, and begged her to summon the prince of Wales in order that he might be informed of a secret of such importance to his future. Upon the prince's arrival, the king spoke to him in tones whose kindness seemed to touch him deeply. When he had left the queen's apartment, lord Perth,¹ his governor, asked him why he had been sent for. He answered, that it was a secret, and that he was bound to keep it. Thereupon the prince began to write at his table. His governor asked him what he was writing. 'I am writing down,' he answered, 'all that the king of France has said to me, that I may remember it all my life and never forget it.' When

¹ *Infra*, p. 59.

the king told the king of England that he intended to recognise the prince of Wales as king, all the English present threw themselves on their knees and cried *Vive le Roi*. The queen is so touched by the king's generosity that she can speak of nothing but her gratitude ; though her grief at the king her husband's condition sadly tempers her satisfaction. On his return from St. Germain, the king announced to his courtiers his undertaking regarding the prince of Wales. The Papal Nuncio remains at St. Germain, and so soon as the king of England is dead, he will formally recognise the prince of Wales as king.

September 14. The king held a Council this morning, which lasted nearly two hours. The duchess of Burgundy, accompanied by madame de Maintenon, went to St. Germain after dinner. They went first to the king of England's apartment. He thanked them for coming, and begged them to go to the queen's apartments and not to remain with him, on account of the unpleasant atmosphere of a sick-chamber. In the morning the dying king had sent for the prince of Wales, to whom he said : ' Come here, my boy. I have not seen you since the king of France recognised you as my successor. Never forget the debt we all owe to him, and remember that God and religion are above all earthly interests.' Thereupon he sank into a state of unconsciousness from which no remedies could draw him. Since then he has had an interval of consciousness, and discoursed with such piety, and so reasonably, as edified

everybody ; indeed, since his illness he appears to speak with more spirit than before it.

September 15. The king of England is much worse, and this morning they did not think he would live through the day. Yesterday the king sent Desgranges, his Master of Ceremonies, to St. Germain, to see that all ceremonial was interdicted. So soon as the king of England is dead, his body will be conveyed to the care of the English Benedictines at Paris, and the queen will retire to Chaillot. The king has put off his departure to Fontainebleau for a day, and if the king of England is alive to-morrow, he will again defer it. . . .

September 16. The king of England died at St. Germain about three o'clock ; he had always wished to die on a Friday. In the evening the queen was conducted to Chaillot. For several days before his death, the queen's confessor had forbidden her to enter her husband's apartment. The Nuncio has, on behalf of the Pope, recognised the prince of Wales as king of England. He will take the title, James the Third, and will be James the Eighth of Scotland.

September 20. The king went to St. Germain after dinner to see the new king of England, James the Third. He was only a short time with him, and then went on to see the queen. The duchess of Burgundy arrived at St. Germain shortly after the king. In her coach were the princess, the duchess and mademoiselle d'Enghien. Madame arrived



KING JAMES II. AND VII.

At page 22.

somewhat later, having with her in her coach the duke and duchess of Orléans. Monseigneur arrived from Meudon at St. Germain with the princess of Conti. The dukes of Burgundy and Berry had paid their visits before the king. His Majesty remained by the queen of England during these visits, and at their conclusion all proceeded to the apartment of the princess of England.¹ The queen will continue to reside at St. Germain with the king and her daughter the princess. The duchess of Burgundy and all the princesses wore morning gowns. The king of England wore a large violet cloak. The ceremonial of these visits was similar to that observed towards James the Second. The king's heart was conveyed to Chaillot after his body had on the Saturday night been carried to the monastery of the English Benedictines at Paris.

Louis the Fourteenth's magnanimous undertaking to help the young Chevalier precipitated the war which for some years past had threatened Europe. Charles the Second of Spain had died in 1700 leaving his dominions to Philip the grandson of Louis the Fourteenth. The efforts of William the Third and the anti-French alliance to curb Louis's ambitious hopes by partitioning the Spanish Monarchy were thereby frustrated. England, exhausted by her efforts in the previous War of the Grand Alliance, which had come to an end with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, had very feebly supported William's strenuous opposition to France. But Louis's recognition of the young Chevalier rallied the whole nation to the support of the King's

¹ Louisa Maria Theresa, the youngest and only surviving daughter of James and Mary of Modena. She died in 1712.

policy. William, however, did not live to direct the war, in the necessity of which he had so doggedly sought to educate his people. He died in March 1702, six months after his father-in-law, James the Second, and was succeeded upon the throne by Anne, and in the conduct of the ensuing War of the Spanish Succession, by the Duke of Marlborough.

If the resumption of war between England and France offered renewed hope to the Jacobites, the Chevalier and his supporters were not less encouraged by the state of affairs in Scotland at the opening of Anne's reign. By a strange irony, Scotland, who had given a line of Kings to England in 1603, had seen herself in the intervening century compelled to sanction the removal of all but one of those who, if Kings of England, were also Kings of Scotland. James the Sixth had escaped the fate of his predecessors and successors. Charles the First had been doomed to the scaffold. Her recognition of Charles the Second had drawn upon Scotland the temporary loss of her autonomy. James the Seventh had been expelled from both his Kingdoms. And now upon the accession of Anne, English interests demanded that the succession to the thrones of England and Scotland should be assured to the Protestant House of Hanover. To that end, the Scottish Parliament in its first session in 1703 was invited by the Duke of Queensberry,¹ the High Commissioner, to consider the terms of an Act of Security. Scottish and not merely Jacobite sentiment felt deeply the humiliation of accepting as king one only of whom England approved. After stormy debates the Act of Security passed the Estates, but in a form from which Queensberry withheld his assent. In September 1703 he adjourned the session to October 12.²

¹ James Douglas, second Duke of Queensberry; born 1662; died 1711.

² The history of this Parliament is dealt with very fully in chap. iv. of *The Union of England and Scotland: a Study of International History*, by James Mackinnon [Lond. 1896].

Lockhart, *Memoirs*, 72.

After the [Scottish] Parliament was Adjourned [1703], mutual Engagements of Fidelity and Sincerity to stand firm to one another were renewed 'twixt the *Cavaliers*¹ on the one Part, and the D[uke] of A[thol]e,² E[arl] of S[eafiel]d,³ and E[arl] of C[romart]y⁴ on the other : And accordingly when these Lords, with the Earl of *Eglington*,⁵ went to *London*, they were entirely trusted by the *Cavaliers*. The Courtiers⁶ again, they made as great Haste, and all Parties strove who should outdo one another in Paying their Respect and shewing their Submission to the Good Will and Pleasure of the D[uke] of M[arlboroug]h and L[ord] G[odolphin]; the Queen, indeed, for Fashion sake, was sometimes addressed to; but such Application was made to these two Lords, that it was obvious to all the World how much the *Scots* Affairs depended on them. I my self out of Curiosity went once to their Levies, where I saw the Commissioner, Chancellour, Secretary, and other Great Men of *Scotland* hang on near an Hour, and when admitted, treated with no more Civility

¹ *i.e.* the Tories.

² John Murray, second Marquis and first Duke of Atholl; born 1659; died 1724.

³ James Ogilvy, fourth Earl of Findlater and first Earl of Seafield; born 1664; died 1730.

⁴ George Mackenzie, Viscount Tarbat, first Earl of Cromarty; born 1630; died 1714.

⁵ Alexander Montgomerie, ninth Earl of Eglinton; born 1660?; died 1729.

⁶ *i.e.* the Whigs.

than one Gentleman pays another's *Valet de Chambre*, and for which the *Scots* have none to blame but themselves ; for had they valued themselves as they ought to have done, and not so meanly and sneakingly prostituted their Honour and Country to the Will and Pleasure of the *English* Ministry, they'd never have presumed to usurp such a Dominion over *Scotland*, as openly and avowedly to consult upon and determine in *Scots* Affairs.

After the *Scots* Nobility had waited and attended the *English* Ministers some Six or Eight Weeks without knowing what was to be done, a flying Report was spread about as if a Plot had been discovered, wherein a certain Number of the Chief and Heads of the *Cavaliers* had engaged to Rise in Arms against Queen *Anne*, in Favours of the Pretended Prince of *Wales* (as they termed the King), and this Story was propagated to blacken those People's Endeavours to liberate their Country from the Slavery and Dominion which *England* usurped over it.

But because the Sham Plot was the foundation of a mighty Super-Structure, made a great Noise, and was the Handle the *Courtiers* laid hold on to ruin the *Cavaliers* and *Country-Parties*, I must go back a little and trace it from its Original, that the Design and Conclusions of it may be the better understood, and the whole look'd upon with that Detestation and Horrour by Future Ages which all good Men had of it at the Time : And certainly never was there a

more Villainous Design, and which, in all Probability, would have had its dismal Effect, had not the wise Providence of God discovered and brought to light the Hellish Contrivance.

You must know then, That after the D[uke] of Q[ueensberr]y had . . . broke his Vows to the *Cavaliers*, and seen them, when joined to the Country, so Strong and Zealous a Party, there was no Hopes of being able to stand it out against so violent and united a Torrent, he bethought himself how to undermine their Reputations, and so diminish their Interest with the Court, and find a Pretence to vent his Wrath and execute his Malice against those that thwarted his *Arbitrary Designs*, and knowing to his certain Experience that the Poet was very much in the Right when he asserted, That

*Plots, True or False, are necessary Things
To set up Commonwealths and ruin Kings,*

did with the special Advice and Consent of his Dear Friends, the D[uke] of A[rgyl]e,¹ the Earls of S[tair]s² and L[even],³ and Mr. *Carstairs* ⁴ (a Rebellious

¹ Archibald Campbell, first Duke of Argyll; died 1703.

² Sir John Dalrymple, first Earl of Stair; born 1648; died 1707.

³ David Melville, third Earl of Leven and second Earl of Melville; born 1660; died 1728.

⁴ For Carstares, cf. *State Papers and Letters addressed to William Carstares, confidential Secretary to King William during the whole of his Reign*, ed. Joseph M'Cormick [Edin. 1774]; Dr. Æneas Mackay's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and *William Carstares: a Character and Career of the revolutionary Epoch*, by Principal Robert H. Story [Lond. 1874].

Presbyterian Preacher, one of her Majesty's Chaplains), resolve one way or other to frame such a Plot as, when lodg'd upon these they designed it against, should in all humane Probability be their utter Ruin and Destruction.¹

They pitch'd upon one *Simon Frazer*² of *Beaufort* as the Tool to carry on this wicked Design, and be Evidence to excuse such Persons as they directed. This Gentleman, some Three or Four Years before, had been guilty of a most scandalous Rape upon the Person of the Lady Dowager *Lovitt*, Sister to the Duke of *Athole*, for which Crime the Lords of Justiciary had condemn'd him to Die, And Letters of Fire and Sword were raised, and a Detachment of King *William's* Troops sent against him and his Adherents, who were pretty numerous, 'twixt whom several Skirmishes happened ; but finding the D[uke] of *A[rgyll]e*, who was his great Patron . . . no longer able to protect him against the Force of Law and

¹ Lockhart merely expresses the prejudices of his party in regard to Queensberry's complicity in Fraser's plot. Cf. Mr. T. F. Henderson's article on Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² The literature regarding Lovat is too voluminous to give here. Vide p. 316 of *The Rising of 1745* for an index to the works which bear upon his life. In a letter to his cousin Alexander Fraser, of December 17 [N.S.], 1703, he frankly avows the fundamental motive of his tortuous career: 'If we live both a Year, you will, by God's Help, see me the greatest Lord *Lovat* that ever was. I am so already out of my Country, and I hope to be so in my Country very shortly.'—*A Collection of Original Papers about the Scots Plot* [Lond. 1704], 46.

Justice, quitted the Kingdom and retired to *France*; but King *James* having got an Account of the Crimes he was found Guilty of, for which he had left his Native Country, would not during his Life allow him to come to the [C]ourt of *St. Germain's*. This Person being made Choice of, as well qualify'd for such a Design, was sent for from *France* to *England*, and afterwards brought from thence to *Scotland*, but before he left *France*, by the Advice of his Friends at Home he turned *Papist*, and finding a Way to be Introduced to the *French* King by the *Pope's* Nuntio, he represented himself as a Person of great Interest in *Scotland* and oppressed for his Zeal to the Royal Family, and that with Encouragement and a small Assistance he could contribute to make a great Diversion to the *English* Arms, and much promote the Royal Interest, and for that end proposed, That his Most Christian Majesty would furnish him with Two or Three Hundred Men and a good Sum of Money to take along with him to *Scotland*, where he'd perform Wonders. But the *French* King, unwilling to hazard his Men and Money without a further Security and more Probability than his Assertions, gave him a fair Answer, desiring him to go first to *Scotland*, and bring him some Credentials from those Persons over whom he pretended so much Power, which he agreed to, and got for that Purpose a little Money, and by the *French* Interest, such Credit at *St. Germain's* as to obtain a Commission from King

James to be a Major-General, with a Power to Raise and Command Forces in his Behalf, which was the main Thing he aimed at.¹ But at the same Time, Captain *John Murray*, Brother to Mr. *Murray* of *Abercarnie*, and Captain *James Murray*, Brother to Sir *David Murray* of *Stenhope*, were likewise under the Protection of Queen *Anne's* Act of Indemnity² sent over to *Scotland* to be a Check upon him, and bring Intelligence How they found the Tempers of the People, and their Inclinations towards King *James*. Thus provided, *Frazer* arrived in *England*.³

*Lord Lovat's Memorial.*⁴

As soon as he arrived in England, he informed

¹ He held a Colonel's commission only (*infra*, p. 33). Upon the death of King William, Lovat, who had already been intriguing with Lochiel, Clanranald, Sir Donald Macdonald (*infra*, pp. 212, 220, 244) and others, had proceeded to France.—*A Collection of Original Papers*, 21. Sir John Maclean (*infra*, p. 214) gives an account of the suspicion with which he was regarded at Versailles and St. Germain, in *Ibid.* Pt. ii. 3 *et seq.*

² Under favour of the Queen's Act of Grace there returned to Scotland from France at about the time of Lovat's embassy, Colonel Buchan, Colonel Graham, Captain Middleton, Captain Deane, David Lindsay, and Captain Mears.—*A Collection*, etc., Pt. ii. 6.

³ He sailed from Calais in the ship of a Captain Gibson. Captain John Murray, Major Fraser (the author of the *Manuscript*, *infra*, p. 42), and Colonel Graham accompanied him.—Colin Campbell's Declaration, in *A Collection of Original Papers*, 22.

⁴ This *Memorial to the Queen of all that my Lord Lovat did in his voyage to England and Scotland* is printed in James Mac-

himself of the dispositions of the people for their King. He found that in England the King had lost much of the inclinations of his subjects, who pretended to be faithful to him in the prince of Orange's time, because [Anne] the princess of Denmark had given employments to those that were enemies to the prince of Orange. . . . He marched from London with his friend captain Murray and three servants a-horse-back to go to the town of Durham, where . . . he found that the town was full of good Catholics of the gentry of the country, who were very faithful to the King his master . . . and when he shewed them the King's picture, they all fell down upon their knees and kissed him and prayed for him. . . . Some days after, they made an assembly of all the Catholic gentlemen of that country; and after they had been some time together, they sent four of their number to my lord Lovat, to entreat him to inform the Queen that all the Catholics in the North of England, who were very numerous and powerful, were ready to venture their lives and fortunes for the King, whenever his banners should be displayed in that country, and

pherson's *Original Papers containing the Secret History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover* [Lond. 1775], vol. i. 641 *et seq.* Lovat's instructions from St. Germain's are in *Ibid.* vol. i. 630. His embassy is also described in Colonel Alexander Fergusson's edition of *Major Fraser's Manuscript, 1696-1737* [Edin. 1889], vol. i. 137 *et seq.* The narrative of Captain John Murray, who accompanied Lovat, is in Macpherson, *op. cit.* vol. i. 677-80.

that they gave already such marks of their fidelity, that they believed the Queen did not doubt their resolutions to serve the King. . . .

My lord Lovat continued his journey towards Scotland ; and as soon as he entered the country, his enemies were affrighted, and my lord Athol, being afraid that if my lord Lovat took arms he would destroy all his estate, made a public complaint to the commissioner, the duke of Queensberry, and to the council, that my lord Lovat was come from France as an emissary from the French court, with money and officers to raise the Highlands in rebellion against the Queen. . . . The marquis of Athol gave to the commissioner as author, captain James Murray,¹ who [had] staid so long at St. Germain, and who was in France, and knew when my lord Lovat received his orders from the court of France.² The commissioner, who was always my lord Lovat's good friend, who believed that what my lord Athol said was malice, instead of giving orders out against my lord Lovat, sent him expressly his friend and my lord Lovat's intimate friend, the earl of Leven, to propose to him in his name, and in the name of the princess of Denmark . . . [to]

¹ This charge is probably quite unfounded. The French Ministry refused to give it any credence.—Macpherson, *op. cit.* vol. i. 659. Captain James Murray formed a most unfavourable estimate of Lovat's character. *Vide* his Report in Macpherson, *op. cit.* vol. i. 665.

² They are dated February 25, 1703, and were signed on the following May 5.—Macpherson, *op. cit.* vol. i. 630.

enter with him and his friends into the interest of Hannover.¹

The Duke of Queensberry, as the result of Leven's interview with Lovat, secured information of the plot, which, whether true or the invention of Lovat's unscrupulous mind, was of the first importance to the Government at a time when some of those whom Lovat implicated, notably Hamilton² and Atholl, were in opposition to its proposals for the settlement of the succession. On August 11, 1703, Queensberry forwarded to the Queen the following information, which he had obtained from Lovat.

*The Duke of Queensberry's Memorial.*³

He [Lovat] pretends to have great marks of great Favour and Confidence, and to be at the bottom of all that was projected against the Government here, and says that in *France* they did expect that this Country should have been in Arms before now, and that he was made a Major-General⁴ in order to his coming over for that End, and that all the other Officers came upon the like Occasion; for Duke *Hamilton* had undertaken to get the Parliament

¹ Lovat adds that considerable bribes were offered to him. His character is so thoroughly unreliable that it is safer to accept no more than his statement in the text. Leven interviewed Lovat at 'Carthar' near Edinburgh.—*A Collection of Original Papers*, 22.

² James Douglas, fourth Duke of Hamilton; born 1658; died 1712.

³ Printed on pp. 5, 6 of *A Collection of Original Papers*.

⁴ The exaggeration is characteristic. Lovat's commission was that of Colonel of foot.—Macpherson, *op. cit.* vol. i. 631. The text of the commission is in *A Collection of Original Papers*, 63.

broke here [at Edinburgh] soon after its meeting, and to draw to the Field about this time in the Summer.¹ He says that Duke *Hamilton* was to be the chief Man of the Party ; tho' he believes that either the Earl of *Marishal*² or *Hume*³ are more trusted at St. *Germain's* than the Duke of *Hamilton*, because that Duke had some times before fail'd them, and they have still thoughts that he may have some Design to set up for himself ;⁴ however, of late they have given Orders to all their Friends here to obey him in every thing, and to take no notice of the different Appearances he might make : He says that Duke *Hamilton's* Terms were to be Duke of *Chattellerault*, and since the Estate that belong'd to that Dutchy was otherwise dispos'd on, a considerable Pension, equivalent to the Value of the Estate, was to be settled upon him ; he was also to have the Command of the *Gens d'Arms Ecossois*, and to be made General of all the Forces of this Kingdom : He says that there was some Debate about the Command of Wardenship of the Borders betwixt *Scotland* and *England*,

¹ This statement is independently confirmed. On July 23, 1703, Captain Hamilton, stationed at Inverness, informed Brigadier Maitland that Hamilton, Atholl, and the Laird of Grant had arranged a 'hunting' for August 2. 'If it be a Match at Hunting only, I know not,' he added, 'but I think it my Duty to acquaint you.'—*A Collection of Original Papers*, 3.

² William Keith, ninth Earl Marischal ; died 1712.

³ James Home, fifth Earl of Home ; died 1706.

⁴ The Duke was of royal descent and was suspected of a desire to promote his own succession to the crown. A good picture of his semi-regal bearing is given in Thackeray's *Esmond*.

for the Duke of *Hamilton* would have the Command of the whole Borders ; they were willing to grant him that part towards *Carlisle*, which lies nearest to his Interest both in *Lancashire* and in this Kingdom, but that the Command of the Borders towards *Berwick* was thought most proper for the Earl of *Hume*, and doth not know if that Matter be yet adjusted. He says that the French King did refuse to send Forces into *Scotland* as he was desir'd, but was willing to send what Money they could require, for he could venture that, but could not be sure to get his Men again ; he says the Money is ready, but believes little is as yet transmitted, for they did demand it presently, but that the French King desires that there should be a rising in Arms.

He says that the French King and [his Minister] *M. de Torci* were the more unwilling to send Troops here at present because their Fleet was in no good Condition, but that in a Season or two they hop'd to be Masters of the Sea, and would then invade these Islands, and that they spar'd no Expence to prepare a great Fleet ; that they had now, as he was told, about 30,000 Men at work on the Fleet ; that they were very confident of the Success of the Prince of *Wales's* Affairs in *Scotland* ; that they did consider the young Gentleman was grown up, and that it would be long before the Queen would be an old Woman ; that they would not stay for her Death.

Lord Lovat's Memorial.

My lord Lovat [after his interview with Lord Leven] finding that none of the low country would stir without commissions, and that the Queen had ordered him expressly that he should make no rising till such time as captain Murray should return to France, sacrificed his clan and interest for the interest of his King, and left all thoughts of rising in arms till he sent an express to France, because he was afraid that he and the chieftains of clans that were to join him would be suppressed before they got assistance from France. He told my lord Drummond,¹ that because he did not think fit to take arms at that time, the kingdom of necessity must be prepared to make a general rising for the King; and for that purpose, he did charge him to bring captain Murray with him, who was then present, to prepare the low country, and that he should offer the command of the King's army to duke Hamilton; and that if the duke did refuse the King's commission, that would presently ruin him with the King's friends, who were his support, that afterwards he could not be capable to do any hurt. My lord Drummond had no good opinion of the duke, nor had any of the King's friends. But he said to my lord Lovat, that he would propose to the duke to take the King's commission, and that he did not care what he did, since he was sure of people of quality in the low country without him. My lord Lovat was very glad to hear

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 194.

that from him, and told him that he would assure him of 20,000 Highlanders when the low country was ready to join them, and that . . . when he had assembled the most considerable chiefs of clans, and had shewn them the King's instructions, he would then send an express for captain Murray, that he might be present at their engagements and promises.

Having agreed on these resolutions, they parted. The next day, the earl of Argyle, who was lord Lovat's relation and his great friend, desired to have an appointment with him. . . . He, to demonstrate to Argyle the great force and wisdom of France, and their entire resolution to restore the King, at the same time exhorted him to consider that his family was very ill with the royal family, and that he must do more than others to save his person and family from utter ruin : [At] that he was much astonished, and changed colours, and answered, It's not that that troubles me. But, said he, I find that the duke of Hamilton plainly designs to be our King, and before he get the crown, I will be the first with my kindred that will join the French and draw my sword for your prince. My lord Lovat wished that he would continue those resolutions. . . . Lovat leaving Argyle very melancholy, took leave of him. Argyle embraced him, and told him he must be of their party, and that he would work with the commissioner to that effect. But at the same time, he took so to heart what my lord Lovat had told

him, that the very next day he fell dangerously ill, and never recovered it.¹

My lord Lovat pursued his journey to the Highlands, where they were overjoyed to see him. . . . He shewed them the King's instructions, and the King of France's great promises. They were ravished to see them, and prayed to God to have their King there, and they should soon put him on the throne. . . . At the same time my lord Lovat received an express from lord Drummond and captain Murray, to acquaint him that his enemies had obtained an act of the privy council² of fire and sword against his person. . . . He answered them . . . that he would pursue his master's business without any fear ; for which reason he sent for captain Murray to see how unanimously the Highlanders were to take arms for their King. Captain Murray came and saw the most considerable of the chiefs. . . . Upon which, my lord Lovat obliged the laird of Appin, as commissioner for the rest of the Highlanders, to meet with my lord Drummond at his house, to conclude of affairs.

The day appointed for the meeting, my lord Lovat, with the said commissioner and the laird of Lochiel and other considerable chiefs, came to the castle of Drummond, and met my lord

¹ The Duke died in 1703. He was succeeded by his son John, who quelled the Rising of 1715.

² The Order in Council was not made, however, until September 27. *A Collection of Original Papers*, 12. By that time, probably, Lovat was lurking in London.

Drummond and the laird of Abercairny, captain [John] Murray's brother, the head of a good family, and very much respected in that country, and one of the loyalest men in the world. He represented the low country, together with my lord Drummond. They kept council there together for three days, and after several disputes and considerations, it was . . . determined to send my lord Lovat [to France] immediately, because he had no more to lose, his estate being possessed by his enemies. . . . Upon which, he was sent away with his cousin, captain Fraser, who was with him all the time,¹ with letters to the Queen, the marquis de Torcy, and to the Nuncio, from my lord Drummond, the laird of Appin, as commissioner from the rest of the chiefs, and from captain Murray. It was likewise resolved that captain Murray should stay for a little time, to go with my lord Drummond to a part of the low country where he had not been before, to bring marks with him of their resolutions to rise in arms for their King, and that as soon as he came back to his father's house, he should come immediately to France with a son of one of the chiefs of the clans, to confirm what my lord Lovat should say in their name. . . .

My lord Lovat, who [had] spent already much of his own money, borrowed four hundred pounds from lord Drummond and the earl of Leven, and took journey with his dispatches. The commis-

¹ The author of the *Manuscript* referred to in note on p. 31.

sioner, who had still hopes to gain him to his party, sent him his passport some time before to come into Edinburgh. He made use of it on this occasion, and came in and saw the commissioner, and gave him very fair language,¹ so that he gave him his passport to come to London, to receive what he had offered him in the name of the princess of Denmark. Though he neither trusted him nor his passport, he was glad to have it, in case he met with some of the troops on the road. Having staid some days² at Edinburgh, being tender, he rode in the night-time through Scotland and the north of England till he came to Durham, where he staid some days with the King's friends, who confirmed what they had said before he went to Scotland. He was forced to buy fresh horses there to carry him to London, because he durst not take coach or post for fear to be known.

In seven days after, he arrived safe in London,³

¹ Lovat's 'fair language' was a further budget of information regarding the designs of the Jacobites. He now incriminated Atholl by delivering to Queensberry a letter said to have been addressed to Atholl by Mary of Modena. On September 25, 1703, Queensberry despatched a letter to Court with the information he had obtained from Lovat.—*A Collection of Original Papers*, 7. The letter to Atholl is in *Ibid.* 8.

² According to Colin Campbell, he stayed only one night at Edinburgh, with Captain Macleod.—*A Collection*, etc., 23. He had time, however, to have several conferences with Leven, and also to visit Queensberry probably more than once.—*Ibid.* 22.

³ He arrived in London about the end of September 1703.—*A Collection*, etc., 9.

where he found extreme difficulties in leaving England; no man, woman, or child being suffered to go to Holland without Nottingham's¹ pass. He had no ways to procure it but by Queensberry, which obliged him to hazard to go and see him privately. Queensberry received him kindly. He told his Grace that in honour he must go back to France, but as soon as he gave account of his journey, he would return and accept of his estate and the offers his Grace made him; that therefore he begged of his Grace to procure him Nottingham's pass to go to Holland, since there was nobody that could go without it. He answered, that he was very sorry that he was resolved to go back to France; that he could not have such an occasion of establishing his family; and that he could not give him the same offer, though he should come again. However, he told him that he must go back, though he should never get either of them. The duke then told him, that he could not get him a pass in his own name, because he was declared a rebel, but that he would endeavour to get a pass in an unknown name, and that he would send it to him the next day.² My lord Lovat thanked him very kindly, and then took leave of him.

¹ The Earl of Nottingham was one of the Secretaries of State.

² On November 12 or 13, 1703, passes were made out by Nottingham for four persons, under the names of Captain Smeaton or Campbell, Munro, Dickson or Duncanson, and Forbes.—*A Collection of Original Papers*, 9, 52.

Major Fraser's Manuscript, i. 140.

Lord Simon [before he left London] met with Colin Campbell,¹ a cousin german of his, and the greatest Jacobite that was in his days. They trysted and met privately, and Mr. Murray being then about some other private business, and they being closs together in a room with a great many papers upon the table before them, and among which there was a packet of letters that Lord Simon wrote to his friends in Scotland, the same being sealed with a direction to Alexr. Fraser of Culduthall, or James and John his brothers, the landlord of the house,² being a Jacobite, and knowing them to be such, came in a hurry on them, told them to make their escape, that there was a party just coming on them. Lord Simon being then conscious to himself and knowing that his mortal enemy the Duke of Atholl was then there [in London], and that he knew this search was by his means,³ got immediately

¹ Campbell of Glendaruel. He was accused by Lovat of having divulged the plot. His Declaration, dated December 24, 1703, and his subsequent evidence under examination, are in *A Collection of Original Papers*, 21 *et seq.*

² During his visit to London, Lovat resided first at the 'Hart's Head' in Smithfield, and then with Thomas Clarke, an apothecary.—*Ibid.* Pt. ii. 42.

³ Atholl had information on November 25 that Lovat had been in London. His informant was Robert Ferguson 'the Plotter.'—*A Collection*, etc., 9. (Ferguson's evidence regarding the plot is in *Ibid.* 13 *et seq.*). The author of the *Manuscript* is wrong, however, in attributing the attempt to arrest Lovat to Atholl's vigilance. Lovat sailed for Holland on November 16, and Atholl was not aware that he had been in London until nine days later.—*Ibid.* 52.

out at a back door, and left Glenderuall at the table, where he was seized with his whole papers about him, and he was carry'd that night to prison.¹ The Duke of Atholl, whom they suspected, and not without grounds,² got hold of all the papers, and particularly this packat directed to Culduthall, which was sent north with an order from the Ministry to seize him and his brothers and bring them to the high Tolbooth of Edinburgh, which accordingly was done, where they payed sufficiently for their oppinion.

Now I shall return to give account how Lord Simon made his escape, and I leave Glenderuall in Newgate, where he continued for two years. Lord Simon went straight for Wapen [Wapping], where he found the packat boat going off for Holland.³ He having landed there,⁴ went up his way into the Court of Sant Germans, and told them

¹ Colin Campbell does not say a word on this in his evidence. Indeed, he asserts that before his own apprehension he succeeded in transmitting three letters to Lovat after the latter's departure.—*A Collection*, etc., 32.

² On January 18, 1704, Atholl presented a Memorial to the Queen in Council, in which he not only defended himself from the charges made against him by Queensberry in his letter of September 25, but challenged the latter to explain his own relations with Lovat. The Duke had already, on January 14, explained that he had kept in touch with Lovat in order to gain information of the designs of the Courts of Versailles and St. Germain.—*Ibid.* 11, 55.

³ He sailed on November 16, 1703, on board a Dutch vessel called the *King William*.—*Ibid.* 52; Pt. ii. 40.

⁴ Lovat gives some details of his journey in his *Memorial*. *Vide* Macpherson, *op. cit.* vol. i. 649.

his whole transactions in Scotland, and also told how he came purposely to London to see his cousin Glanderuall, to concert with him how matters would be brought on in their master's interest.¹ He having continued there for a while . . . the Marquess of Atholl, who was a great man at the Court of Sant Germans and also with King William, as his family always continued so, playing with both hands, wrote a letter to the Court of Sant Germans, giving account that Lord Simon had been with the Duke of Argyll and the Duke of Queensberry and had discovered the whole design then in hand.² . . .

Mr. [John] Murray, being out of the way when Lord Simon made his escape, was left in the dark, not knowing what became of his commerad, and lurked at London three months to find him out.

¹ Lovat's visit to London required some explanation. That given in the text is less probable than Queensberry's statement, that Lovat undertook to precede the Duke's arrival at London from Edinburgh, in order to find out and communicate 'some more Intelligence from those Persons who had come lately over from France.'—*A Collection of Original Papers*, 55.

² Any prompting from Atholl would appear to have been quite superfluous. On January 15, 1704, Lovat, who had just returned from reporting himself at St. Germain, wrote to the Earl of Middleton (*infra*, p. 59), to express a hope that the Queen would be pleased with his Memorial. On the very next day Middleton recommended his arrest, on the ground that he had not fulfilled his instructions, and had also communicated information to the Chevalier's enemies. —Macpherson, *op. cit.* vol. i. 651, 652. Macpherson also prints correspondence regarding Lovat's integrity, between the Earl of Middleton, the Marquis de Torcy, and the Papal Nuncio. *Vide* vol. i. 652 *et seq.*

When he found that he could not get account of him, he took occasion of a ship bound for France, and was beat back upon the coast of Denmark, so that he came not home for nine months after Lord Simon. . . .¹

But all this time, while Mr. Murray was away, Queen Mary was confirmed that it was matter of fact, and went in person to the King of France, and beg'd of him that he would withdraw his countenance from Lord Simon, who had betrayed her son's interest in Scotland, and had murdered Mr. Murray. The King of France told her that he had settled a pension upon him, but if that could be proved, to satisfy her he would not only lose his pension but he would hang him.

At that very juncture it happened that Mr. Murray arrived,² and was examined before the king how Lord Simon behaved, and gave a very favourable account of him, and told the King of France that no man could behave better among the clans, and as for any

¹ Lovat was even supposed to have murdered Murray.

² Captain John Murray arrived in France some time in May 1704. His narrative of his travels with Lovat is dated May 30, 1704. The text of it is in Macpherson, *op. cit.* vol. i. 677-80. He reported that five thousand men would be required from France to support a rising in Scotland; that twenty thousand men could be raised there, but that they would require money and arms. As to the advisability of the Chevalier proceeding to Scotland, opinion was, he said, divided, though 'all agree and say that his Majesty's presence will have the same effect as an addition of 10,000 men to his army.' A list of the Clans which Lovat professed to be ready to rise is in *A Collection of Original Papers*, 62.

other action of his when he was not with him, he could not answer for it.¹

This did not stop Queen Mary's repeated applications to the King of France . . . to put Lord Simon in the Bastile. Lord Simon, knowing that at this time the speat was great against him, made his interest with the Jesuites, and professed Lewis' religion, and entered into that sect, which was strongly backed by the great Mun-si Culbert [Colbert] and Mar-chi de Fraselier. Yet on end, Queen Mary, with tears on her cheeks, prevailed to putt Lord Simon to confynment.²

Lockhart, *Memoirs*, 83.

Now let any Impartial Judge consider if 'tis probable that *Frazer*, with whom no Honest Man in *Scotland* would converse, who was under Sentence of

¹ The Major is somewhat ingenuous in Lovat's behalf. Captain John Murray, who returned to France in May 1704, delivered a Report in which he offered no criticism of Lovat's behaviour. Captain James Murray, however, sent in his Report on February 22, 1704. He concluded it as follows: 'In fine, the most considerable of the friends of the King my master in the low country of Scotland . . . consider Beaufort [Lovat] to be a man so wicked, so dangerous, and so notoriously to be suspected, that they will . . . never choose to expose themselves to treat about any affair with the court of St. Germain's while they suspect that that court can place any confidence in Beaufort, whom they consider as a man capable of betraying and ruining them.'—Macpherson, *op. cit.* vol. i. 665.

² The *Manuscript* proceeds to narrate Lovat's further career. He remained in France until 1713 or 1714. In the '15 he appeared as an energetic supporter of the Government, and thereby recovered his position and the Lovat estates.

Death, and not such a Tool as to Imagine that he had Interest to do any Thing of Moment for King *James's* Service, could have had the Impudence to Address the *French* King in such Terms he did, and come over to *Scotland*, unless he had been put upon it, and protected by such as could support him at Home. If he proposed to Cheat the *French* King of a little Money, why came he to *Scotland* with it, since he knew he could not fail in time to be discovered, and then could neither hope to be protected there, or dare to return to *France*? These, I say, and many other such shreud Presumptions, make it clear what was the Design of this pretended *Plot*, and if Successful, how Dismal the Consequences of it would have proved, *viz.* The Destruction of those who opposed the Designs of the *Scots Courtiers* and *English Ministry* against *Scotland*; how Happy it was in being rendered Abortive before the design'd Conception had come to full Maturity, and how Odious the 'Thoughts of such a Hellish Conspiracy and Abettors thereof ought to be in the Eyes of all good Men.

I must likewise acquaint you, That *David Baily* having wrote a Letter, about the same time that the Pretended *Plot* was discovered at *London*, to the D[uke] of H[amilto]n then at *Edinburgh*, intimating That the D[uke] of Q[ueensberr]y and M[arquis] of A[nnandal]e¹ had been at great Pains to engage him

¹ William Johnstone, third Earl and first Marquis of Annandale; died 1721.

to go to London with them, and be a Concurring Evidence of such things as he should afterwards be inform'd of against the D[uke]s of *H[amilto]n* and *A[thol]e*, the Earl of *H[om]e*, and several others ; which he positively refusing to do, he thought it his Duty to make a Discovery thereof, that these Noble Persons might be on their Guard, lest the D[uke] of *Q[ueensberr]y* should still endeavour and at last find out proper Persons to be his Accomplices. This Information, upon the Back of the Pretended *Plot*, made a great Noise. The D[uke] of *H[amilto]n* Tabled it before the *Scots* Privy Council, and desired their Lordships would take it and its Consequences under Consideration. Upon which, *Baily* was Imprisoned and Examined: But having no Proof besides his own Assertions, he was ordered to stand upon the Pillory, and was Banished out of the Kingdom. The first part of which Sentence was Executed, but the other taken off when the M[arqui]s of *T[weeddal]e* came to the Government.¹

'Tis Hard to make a Judgment of this Story. If it was true, 'tis a further Proof of the Courts Designs. But for my part (tho' I'm convinced the D[uke] of *Q[ueensberr]y* was capable of it, and did as Ill with *Frazer*), I do believe it was all a Lye, being only a Counter Plot, framed by Mr. *Baily* of *Jerveswood*²

¹ John Hay, second Marquis of Tweeddale ; born 1645 ; died 1713. For David Baillie's trial, cf. *A Complete Collection of State Trials* [Lond. 1809-28], vol. xiv. 1035 *et seq.*

² Cf. *Correspondence of George Baillie of Jerviswood*, 1702-1708. Bannatyne Club [Edin. 1842].

to exasperate the Nation against the D[uke] of Q[ueensberr]y; *Baily* being his near Relation, and *Tweedale's* Party appearing most earnest for his being acquitted in Council, and at last, when they came to have Power, taking off the Sentence of Banishment. Let me add to, This *Baily* was so Scandalous a Fellow, he would scarcely have been allowed as an Habile Witness in any Judicatory in *Europe* where his Character was known. But I leave the Reader as he pleases to give Credit or not to his Report, there being sufficient Evidence without it to convince the World what a Horrid Design the D[uke] of Q[ueensberr]y was upon.¹

¹ Lockhart's commentary is accurate so far as it reflects the disgust of the Scottish Jacobites at the employment by the new régime at St. Germain's of so disreputable an agent as Lovat. Lovat was clearly prepared to sell himself to the highest bidder, and beyond his devotion to his own selfish ends, was anxious to damage Atholl. Queensberry not unnaturally used the evidence with which Lovat furnished him in order to discredit the opponents of the Union. He failed to gauge the depths of Lovat's unprincipled duplicity.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH DESCENT OF 1708

Lockhart, *Memoirs*, 339.

THE Union¹ commenced upon the First of *May*, 1707, a Day never to be forgot by *Scotland*, a Day in which the *Scots* were stripped of what their Predecessors had gallantly maintained for many Hundred Years, I mean their Independency and Sovereignty.

I shall leave this Melancholy subject with adding a few Observes that some were pleased to remark.

First, That the first Article of the Union was approved the fourth Day of *November*, which was the Birth-day of our *Dutch* ironical Saviour, King *William*, being the Day preparatory to *Gunpowder-Treason*.

Second, That the Peerage was renounced the eighth of *January*, which was the Date of the Warrant for the Religious Murder of Glenco, upon which Day likewise the Earl of *Sta[ir]*, Signer of the

¹ The progress of the Union negotiations is minutely told in Mackinnon's *The Union of England and Scotland*.

said Warrant, after he had with more than ordinary Zeal appeared that Day in Parliament, was found dead in his Bed, or, as was reported, hanged himself.

Third, The Ratification of the Articles of the Union was upon the sixteenth of the Date of the Sentence of the Royal Martyr, King *Charles* the First.

Fourth, The Dissolution of the *Scots* Parliament or Kingdom was upon the Twenty-fifth of *March*, being the first of the Year in *England*, and a handsome new Years Gift to that Kingdom.

Fifth, The Equivalent (*alias Price* of *Scotland*) came to *Edinburgh* on the Fifth of *August*, the Day the Earl of *Gourie* designed to perpetrate his horrid Conspiracy against King *James* VI. . . .

I proceed next to give an account of what happened after the Commencement of the Union, particularly of the Projects that were set on foot to subvert the same and restore the King. It is not to be expected I can discover all the secret Transactions at the time I write this, for many of them were carried on in *France*, and others, though at home, were kept very Secret; yet you'll perceive I have come at the Knowledge of so much as will sufficiently enable you to Understand the true Origine and Progress of the designed Invasion from *France* in *March* 1708.

To begin then, No sooner was the First of *May* past, than the Ministry (now of great *Britain*) took care to

establish the Union of the two Kingdoms, and as by the Articles it was agreed their should be the same Regulations, Impositions, *etc.*, of Trade throughout the united Kingdom (that is to say, that the Laws relative to Trade in *England* should take place in *Scotland*), Immediately two Commissioners were appointed, one for managing the Customs, the other the Excise of *Scotland*, which consisted partly of *English*, partly of *Scotsmen* (though these latter had no pretensions to intitle them to that Name, save their being born in that Country; they and all that were employed afterwards as Commissioners for managing the equivalent, or advanced to any of the new Posts, being down right Renegadoes, and rewarded on no other account than the Assistance they gave in selling their Country); at the same Time vast Numbers of Surveyers, Collectors, Waiters, and in short, all or most of the Officers of the Customs and Excise were sent down from *England*, and these, generally speaking, the very Scum and Canalia of that Country,¹ which remembers me of a very good Story: *Sometime thereafter a Scots Merchant Travelling in England, and shewing some apprehensions of being Robbed, his Landlady told him he was in no hazard, for all the Highway-men were*

¹ Cf. on this matter, Mackinnon, *op. cit.* 361 *et seq.*; Lord Stanhope, *History of England, comprising the Reign of Queen Anne until the Peace of Utrecht* [Lond. 1870], 327 *et seq.*; Hill Burton, *The History of Scotland from Agricola's Invasion to the extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection* [New edition, Edin. and Lond. 1876], vol. viii. 206 *et seq.*

gone, and upon his enquiring how that came about ; why truly, replied she, they are all gone to your Country to get Places.

These Fellons treated the Natives with all the Contempt, and executed the new Laws with all the Rigour imaginable ; so that before the first Three Months were expired, there were too apparent Proofs of the Truth of what had been often asserted in relation to the bad Bargain *Scotland* had made : 'tis true indeed, some particular Merchants made vast gain at this Juncture ; for, the Duties upon Wine and most other Foreign Commodities being much less in *Scotland* than in *England*, great Quantities were imported into the former before the Commencement of the Union, afterwards carried into *England*, returned an extraordinary Profit ; but as discerning People saw that was only the accidental Consequence of what could not be well avoided at this Juncture, and that these Sun shine Days would be soon over Clouded (as the Merchants have since effectually experimented), it did no Ways lessen the dreadful Apprehensions of the Consequences of the Union, and the People of all Ranks and Perswasions were more and more chagrin'd and displeased, and resented the loss of the Sovereignty, and were daily more and more perswaded that nothing but the Restoration of the Royal Family, and that by the means of *Scotsmen*, could restore them to their Rights. So that now there was scarce one of a Thousand that did not declare for the King ; nay

the Presbyterians and *Cameronians* were willing to pass over the Objection of his being Papist ; for said they¹ (according to their predestinating Principles), God may convert him, or he may have Protestant Children, but the Union can never be good ; and . . . on all Occasions, in all Places, and by all People of all Perswasions, nothing was to be heard throughout all the Country save an universal Declaration in favour of the King, and Exclamations against the Union and those that had promoted it.

Nay, so great a length did their Indignation lead them, that the Presbyterian Ministers became universally Hated and Dispsied, and lost all their Interest with the Commons, these not sticking to tell them publicly, that they were Time-servers, and had preached up against the Union whilst they thought their Kirk not well enough secured, but that once being done, they valued not the Country nor the Peoples Liberties ; and thus were the Commons come to this lucky pass, that they would have entered into and prosecuted any Measure without the previous Advice and constant Concurrence of the Ministers, who formerly, on all other Occasions, acted only with a view to themselves, could never be guided

¹ For the views and conduct of this body, *vide The Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland, in North Britain, Esq. : containing his secret Transactions and Negotiations in Scotland, England, the Courts of Vienna, Hanover, and other foreign parts* [Lond, 1726-27],



STUART RESTORATION MEDALS, 1708

by the Nobility and Gentry, and rendered the Commons immanageable by the influence they had over them.

As these were the Peoples Inclinations, so likewise was there an universal Expectation of the King's coming over to them ; whence this came I cannot tell, but People were over all Parts prepossessed and pleased themselves with an Opinion it would happen very soon ; so that for several Months they were in a constant Expectation of him, and this was before any Measure for the Purpose was finally concluded, and in such Countries where few or none were privy to the Concert ; besides, they acted consequentially to this their behalf and expectation, preparing themselves to receive and assist him ; for the Western Shires had their private Deligates from each Parish to meet and concert Measures together, and amongst others, they appointed several of their number to apply themselves towards getting of Intelligence ; they named their Officers who should head them till once the Nobility and Gentry took the Command upon them ; they had Arms making in all Places, and appointed People to buy Horses ; so that a worthy Friend of mine in the Shire of *Air* assured me, That very Summer Twelve or Fifteen Hundred good Horses had been brought over from *Ireland*, which were picked and brought up by Country People, and carried where no body knew ; and some of these Ringleaders and Delegates in

Clydsdale did come to Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*,¹ telling him they were ordered by a considerable Party to enquire of him against what time he thought the King would Land ; and upon his answering that he wondered how they could ask such a Question of him ! and that he knew nothing of these Matters, they answered, he might indeed be shy in divulging his Mind to them, but they doubted not but he knew, and they would be glad to know likewise, that each of them might spare one or two of their best Horses from Work, and have them in good Condition against he landed. And on another occasion, one of the chief *Cameronians* told him they were content to join in an Army with the *Episcopalians*, for it was not now a time for *Scotland* to be divided amongst themselves. . . .

It is not to be doubted but these Accounts would soon reach the Ears of those at *St. Germain*s and *Versails*. For in the first Place, during the time that the Articles of the Union were under the Consideration of the *Scots* Parliament, the *English* Ministry allowed, or rather encouraged their News-Mongers to ascribe the opposition they met with to a Spirit of Jacobitism ; and next, care was taken to inform how averse the People were to the Union, and pressing the King's coming over as the luckiest opportunity for restoring of him, and advancing the Affairs of *France* by giving a diversion to the *English*

¹ George Lockhart of Carnwath, the author of these *Memoirs* ; born 1673 ; died 1731.

Arms; and the *French* King, by the bad success of his Arms during the last Campaign (wherein he lost the Battles of *Audenard* and *Turin* and several strong Towns), being brought to a weak pass, began to relish the Proposal and seemed in earnest to do something for our King; for which end he sent over Colonel *Hookes* to get Intelligence and Treat with the People of *Scotland*.

I have . . . good Grounds to believe he was palmed upon the Court of *St. Germain's*, being pitched upon by the *French* King as one that would follow his Directions and be true to his Interest; and indeed he was not disappointed, for the Colonel show'd more concern to raise a Civil War at any rate (which was what the *French* King chiefly wanted), then so to manage and adjust Measures as tended most for King *James's* Service and to encourage his Subjects to do for him.

Now it will be proper to remember that the two Dukes of *Hamilton* and *A[thol]e*¹ had for sometime been in bad Terms with one another; the first claim'd Merit upon the account of his past Actions, his Interest and Qualifications (which are seldom undervalued by great Men), the other thought he was to be valued, and would yield to none because of the Interest he had of late got with the *North* Country Gentry, and the great number of Men he

¹ Contemporary sketches of these two peers and of others of the Scottish nobility are in the *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky* [Lond. 1733].

could raise; but he never considered these would have join'd the King, not out of Affection or Obedience to him (tho' he might have a considerable stroke with them, and was therefore to be valued), but from a Principle of Loyalty, which they had manifested on all occasions.

These Dukes had their several Friends; some Honest Men, being disgusted at the Duke of *Hamilton* on the Account of his Behaviour during the last Parliament,¹ inclined to think the Duke of *Athole* would venture further for the King; which, as it picqued the one, so it elevated the other, nay, to so great a degree, that the Duke of *A[thol]e* and his Partizans railed openly against the Duke of *Hamilton*, and pretended to do all themselves.

There were others again, who, remembering the Duke of *A[thol]e's* Conduct at and on several occasions since the Revolutions, were afraid he was not thoroughly well founded, but acted more from a desire of revenging himself of the Courtiers who had slighted him, than a true Principle of Loyalty; and considering that he was by no means qualified to be the Head of a Party, tho' in general an useful Man in promoting so good a Design, thought he was to be humoured, but not so as to disgust the Duke of *Hamilton* altogether. For tho' the last's Behaviour in all Points was not approved of by them, yet being thoroughly convinced that he was altogether Loyal,

¹ Vide Stanhope, *op. cit.* 270; Hill Burton, *op. cit.* vol. viii. 175.

and tho' perhaps a little too Cautious, or rather Timorous in concerting of Measures, would infallibly join the King and venture as far to serve him as any Man alive; and it being evident to a Demonstration, that he was absolutely necessary to be with the King because of his Interest, Courage and Conduct, and particularly his dexterity in managing the different Parties in the K[i]ngdom; Upon these Considerations, I say, they thought he was to be valued, respected, and advised with, and having notified the same to the Earl of *Middleton*¹ (who agreed with them in it), and he again to the K—g, the Duke of *Perth*,² who was of a quite different Interest from the Earl of *Middleton*, soon made up with the Duke of *A[thol]e*, and having more interest with the Priests and *Roman* Catholics than the Earl of *Middleton*, prevailed so far with the Court of *France*, or at least with *Hookes* himself, that when *Hookes* arrived in *Scotland*, he should make his chief Application to his Correspondent, the Duke of *A[thol]e*. . . .

These being premised, I go to acquaint you, That *Hookes* set Sail from *France* and Landed in the *Northern* Parts of *Scotland* some time about the later end of *February* or beginning of *March* 1707.

¹ Charles Middleton, second Earl of Middleton, titular Earl of Monmouth, Secretary of State at the Court of St. Germain; born 1640?; died 1719.

² James Drummond, fourth Earl and first titular Duke of Perth; born 1648; died 1716.

Colonel Hooke's Report, 5.¹

Immediately upon receiving the king's² orders in the month of January last [1707], to hold myself in readiness to go over to Scotland for his service, I wrote to the duke of Hamilton, begging of him to give notice to the well-affected of my journey, and that I was to bring them arms and ammunition. This resolution being soon after changed, and new orders being given to me to go over to that country only to treat with the principal men of the nation, I likewise acquainted the duke of Hamilton with this, and entreated him to concert every thing before-hand with the other chiefs, who were then assembled to attend the parliament, and to send some one well instructed and fully authorised from them to wait upon me at the Earl of Errol's,³

¹ The following Report was drawn up and submitted by Colonel Nathaniel Hooke to M. de Chamillart, the French Secretary of State, on July 29, 1707. It is printed in the *Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiations in Scotland in 1707. Being the original Letters and Papers which passed between the Scotch and Irish Lords and the Courts of Versailles and St Germain's* [Edin. 1760]. An edition of the work was published at London in the same year. From a comparison of the two texts, that of Edinburgh appears to be the more accurate. Hooke's earlier dealings with the Scottish Jacobites are described in his *Correspondence*, edited by William D. Macray for the Roxburghe Club [Lond. 1870-71]. For Hooke's career, *vide* Introduction to that work, and also W. A. J. Archbold's article upon him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Louis the Fourteenth.

³ Charles Hay, thirteenth Earl of Erroll; born 1680?; died 1717. His seat was Slains Castle, in Aberdeenshire.

the Lord High Constable, where I was to land, and to whom also I gave notice of my journey.

I had orders to carry along with me Mr. Moray, lieutenant-colonel in the king's service, who had already been in that country by his Majesty's orders, and one of his brothers, who was then in France on his private affairs. These two gentlemen, being of one of the best families in Scotland, were judged proper to facilitate the affair; especially the last mentioned, who having come to France with the permission of the Scottish government, was at liberty to go openly every where upon his return, which I could only do in secret.

Having proceeded to Dunkirk with these two gentlemen, we were detained there a whole month by contrary winds, so that I entreated the brother of Mr. Moray to go to Ostend or to Holland, and to go over to England in the packet-boat, or in the first vessel that should sail for that country; from whence to go post for Edinburgh, and dispose the well-affected for my arrival.

Some time after, the weather having become more favourable, I embarked with Mr. Moray on board the king's frigate the *Heroine*, commanded by Mr. de Ligondes, and the fifth day after I arrived at Slains, a castle of the Earl of Errol, hereditary High Constable of Scotland, in the northern part of the county of Aberdeen.

I always was and always am ready to execute implicitly all the orders of the king, but this journey

I undertook the more willingly, as, from my knowledge of the island of Great Britain, I am well assured that a revolution in Scotland would absolutely put the English out of a condition to support the expences of the war, and would oblige them to sue for peace in a very short time.¹

Notwithstanding I was trusted with very ample powers, I thought it best for the service of the king on this occasion, to endeavour to engage the Scots as far as I could without engaging the king to any thing, and during my journey I only thought of the means of accomplishing this purpose. Upon my arrival in Scotland, I found that the Union had been ratified by the parliament, to the great discontent and hearty dislike of the nation, and that all the peers and other lords, together with the members of parliament, had returned to the country, their ordinary residence (for in Scotland the merchants and some lawyers alone make their constant abode in the cities), and that there remained only at Edinburgh the high constable, the duke of Hamilton, and the lord Marshal, the two last being dangerously ill.

The Countess of Errol, mother to the high constable, who had come on purpose to the castle on the sea coast to wait on me, put into my hands

¹ As Dr. Hill Burton writes, Louis's interest in a Scottish Rising was founded on the hope that it would 'call Marlborough away from his own door.'—*History of Scotland*, vol. viii. 203. The War of the Spanish Succession was at this time in progress.

several letters from her son, in which he testified a great impatience to see me, adding, that all the well-affected would exert themselves to the utmost on this occasion as their last resource, being persuaded that at the worst they would obtain better conditions sword in hand than those of the Union. She told me also, that the duke of Hamilton had sent Mr. Hall, a priest, and his confidant, to her, and that he had waited for me a month. She gave me a letter from him, in which Mr. Hall informs me that the duke of Hamilton entreats me to come to him at Edinburgh, where he would take care that I should be well lodged ; that he would trust himself to none but me only ; that he and all his friends are ready to risk every thing for the king of England,¹ provided that prince comes in person, for that without his presence there could be nothing done ; that if the fatigue of my voyage should hinder me from beginning my journey directly, the Duke begs of me to send him any letters that I may have for him.

The countess of Errol at the same time told me, that she advised me not to be in great haste ; that the duke of Hamilton's affairs were greatly altered within a few months past ; that all the world had abandoned him, and all the well-affected had come to an open rupture with him ; that the only man that stuck by him was lord Kilsyth ;² that the high

¹ The Chevalier de St. George.

² William Livingston, third Viscount Kilsyth and Baron Campsie ; born 1650 ; died 1733.

constable and great marshal also observed some measures with him, but only on account of their antient intimacy; that he had been suspected of holding a correspondence with the court of London; therefore, that I would do well to be upon my guard before I trusted much to him, and that the high constable her son would tell me more.

Her reasons prevailed upon me; and besides, I was not in a good state of health to go to Edinburgh, having been indisposed ever since I had left Versailles, and being much out of order with my voyage. I therefore desir'd M. de Ligondes to go to Norway and come back upon the coast at the end of three weeks. The same day I dispatched a messenger to the high constable and to Mr. Hall. Of the first I asked advice, how it were best for me to act; and I informed the latter, that after I had taken some rest I intended to come and wait upon the duke of Hamilton. I begged of him to inform him of my arrival, and that I had a letter for him from the king of England, and that I would wait the return of the messenger to know the measures he had taken to see me, and to render my abode at Edinburgh safe. The messenger returned the fifth day after with the answers. The constable begged of me to wait for him at the castle, promising to be there in the end of the week. Mr. Hall informed me that the duke of Hamilton was so bad that he could not yet see me, but that I would have an answer from him by the high constable. While I

waited the arrival of the high constable, I sent a messenger to lord Drummond, second son of the duke of Perth, who was then in that country, and after having informed myself of such of the nobility of the west and north-west of Scotland as he could trust, I begged of him to go and wait upon them and to prepare them for a conference with me, and I gave him a copy of the instructions which I had received from M. de Chamillard. It contained questions concerning the particular circumstances of the nation, and of the things that would be needed in the expedition. I gave him likewise a copy of the letter which the king of England had written to all his friends in general, in which he assured them of his resolution to come and put himself at their head; and to this I added a short writing, in which I represented the extremity to which the nation was reduced; I touched upon the different interests of the principal families of Scotland; I proposed some expedients for reconciling them, exhorting them to put an end to all their quarrels and animosities; I laid before them the dangers to which they exposed themselves, and the impossibility of delivering themselves from slavery while these jealousies subsisted.

After this young lord was gone, I sent another messenger to the laird of Boyn, a gentleman who had vigorously opposed the Union in parliament: As he is a confidant of the duke of Athol, I entreated him upon his arrival to go and wait upon the duke

and some other lords of his acquaintance, and I trusted him with the same instructions and papers that I had before given to lord John Drummond. I likewise dispatched a messenger to the duke of Gordon,¹ who was at one of his castles in the north, and to the laird of Coxtoun his neighbour, to prepare every thing in their quarters to be able to enter upon business at my arrival among them. Though the office was hazardous, yet I found it was absolutely necessary that I should travel in person over a great part of the kingdom. In the mean time, as the chief men of the nation were dispersed over different counties, I form'd a design to divide the country into two circuits, one of which I proposed to visit myself, and trusted the other to Mr. Moray.

At this time lord Saltoun,² a chief of one of the branches of the house of Frazer, came on a visit to the countess of Errol. This nobleman assured me of his zeal, but desired me to be upon my guard against the duke of Hamilton. He told me that he believed he was in the interest of the court of London, and that he had for a long time past held a correspondence with the duke of Queensberry and the earl of Stairs, who are at the head of the party for the Union; that he had carefully concealed that correspondence, and had broken all measures with

¹ George Gordon, first Duke of Gordon; born 1643?; died 1716.

² William Fraser, eleventh Baron Saltoun; born 1654; died 1715.

the well-affected ; that after the ratification of the Union in the parliament, he had used his utmost efforts to get himself elected one of the peers to sit in the first parliament of Great-Britain ; and although he had condescended to the greatest meannesses, yet he had been unanimously rejected as a candidate. Lord Saltoun added, that I would be informed of all this more particularly from the high constable, and he authorized that lord to sign in his name every thing that should be settled with me for the service of the king of England and for the welfare of Scotland.

The high constable came to his castle at the time he had fixed. I found him very much dissatisfied with the duke of Hamilton. He told me that the duke for two months past had testified the utmost impatience to see me, but that he no sooner heard of my arrival than he changed his tone. He said that I had come too late, and that the animosity of the nation against the English was greatly abated. Mr. Hall had made a mistake in decyphering my letter, for instead of explaining that I had letters from the king (his most Christian majesty) and the king of England for the duke, he wrote that the letters were from the king and the queen, upon which the duke of Hamilton cried out that his letters for two years past were plainly not agreeable to the king, and that as his majesty had not written to him, it was a proof that he wished him not to be concerned in the affair ; that for the time to come, therefore, he

would think only of the means of securing his own safety.

The earl of Errol added, that all this was only a pretext which the duke used to cover his secret designs; that for some time past he had endeavoured to persuade his friends that there was nothing to be expected from the king; that his majesty was prevented by the state of his affairs from thinking upon them, and that if he appeared disposed to do any thing, it was only with a view to rid himself of the king of England before the peace, or to excuse himself from doing any other thing for that prince, in case his subjects should refuse to receive him with a few troops; that the nation therefore should take some other measures for securing its liberties and independency.

This discourse, he said, had given great offence to many, and his secret intrigues with the duke of Queensberry and the earl of Stairs (which lord Saltoun had already given me a hint of) had increased their distrust; that the duke of Athol was the first who discovered that intrigue, with which he reproached the duke of Hamilton, who at first denied it, but the duke of Athol proving it plainly, the other was at length forced to confess it, entreating the duke of Athol to believe that he had no other design but to intimidate or gain the two chiefs of the English faction; that his excuse having given satisfaction to nobody, the well-affected had dropped all intercourse with him; that the duke of Athol con-

tinued still to treat with him, till he had proposed in parliament to agree to the succession of Hanover, provided the English would desist from pressing the Union ; that then the duke of Athol openly broke with him, being persuaded the duke of Hamilton had only made that motion in hopes, that if the well-affected had agreed to it, that proceeding would have made them lose all their credit with the people, who wish only for the king of England.

That when all the counties and all the cities of Scotland declared against the Union by their addresses to the parliament, the presbyterians of the west of Scotland, who are all armed, sent to inform the duke of Hamilton that they were preparing to march to Edinburgh to disperse the parliament ; that if he thought the enterprise too bold, he need not concern himself with it, but only leave them to act ; and that the duke had charged them not to make any disturbance, saying, it was not yet time.

The earl of Strathmore,¹ lord Stormont,² and the lairds of Pourie and Finglas have since told me, that they made him the same offer from the shires of Angus and Perth, and that he gave them the same answer. And the laird of Kersland, one of the chief men among the presbyterians,³ has also assured me that he and the laird of Bishoptoun had carried the

¹ John Lyon, second Earl of Strathmore ; born 1665 ? ; died 1712.

² David Murray, fifth Viscount Stormont ; born 1665 ? ; died 1731.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 54.

message from the west country presbyterians to the duke, and that he had put a stop to their rising.¹

The earl of Errol would never open himself to me as to his opinion of the conduct and designs of the duke of Hamilton. He begged of me only to make the best use I could of what he had told me ; not to neglect the duke, but at the same time to be upon my guard, because he was impenetrable ; and to conceal from him all that I transacted with the other lords.

I asked him, how the duke, who was neither rich, nor powerful in the number of his vassals, had acquired so great a credit with the people. The earl of Errol answered, that by means of the dutchess dowager of Hamilton, his mother, he had acquired great credit among the presbyterians ; but that his late refusal to permit them to arm had entirely lost him their favour, and that they had since addressed themselves to the dukes of Gordon and Athol. That the greatest credit of the duke of Hamilton was owing to the court of St. Germain, several orders having come from thence to the friends of the king of England to do nothing without him, and that those orders had been repeated on occasion of my voyage. As a proof of this he gave me a letter of Mr. Innes, almoner to the queen of England, dated the 17th of last January, in which, after relating that I was soon to go over to Scotland, he adds these words, ‘ The king of England desires that his

¹ Cf. Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, vol. viii. 163.

friends would follow the directions of the duke of Hamilton, and not declare themselves till the duke has declared himself, when they may without danger follow his example.'

The earl added further, that he had seen a letter written by Mr. Stairs, secretary to lord Middleton, to a person in Edinburgh, in which he informs him of my voyage ; adding that it was generally thought his Most Christian Majesty would do nothing for the Scots, and that my journey was only a feint ; and he names the two gentlemen that were to come with me. The great constable shewed me another letter of the 1st of March, which one would have believed to have been written expressly to prevent the well affected from answering the goodness of the king, or from taking any measures. It positively mentions, that they have nothing to hope for, that they are greatly pitied, and advises them to think of their own security. I have seen other letters from St. Germain to the same purpose.

From these circumstances I found out how matters were conducting, and was extremely surprised to find that the steps taken had almost cut off the only resource the nation had left. I begged the earl of Errol to suppress the letter of the 1st of March, and I resolved to take advantage of that which desires the friends of the king of England to regulate their conduct by the duke of Hamilton. I saw the nation ready to come to the last extremities to prevent the Union ; that they only waited for a leader ; that the

duke of Hamilton wanted them not to think of the king of England, by persuading them that his most christian majesty neither had inclination nor ability to assist that prince; and as the despair of the people was daily augmenting, that the duke flattered himself that they would at length address themselves to him. It plainly appeared to me, that if he was not gained over by the court of London, these were his views, and he could have no other. I therefore resolved to act with a great deal of reserve till I had clearly discovered the inclinations of the people, and above all, of the Presbyterians; and if I found that they thought of the duke of Hamilton, I would enter into their measures, would act in concert with the duke, and persuade the nobility to join him in obedience to the orders of the king of England, by persuading them that the duke acted only for the interest of that prince.

I discovered nothing of this my design to the high constable, knowing his attachment to the king of England, and I wanted to keep myself at liberty to join either the party in favour of that prince, or of the duke of Hamilton, according as I found the nation disposed. At [the] same time, I thought it would be safer for me to regulate myself by the general disposition of the people, than either by the offers of the duke [of Hamilton], or by those of the friends of the king of England; because the duke might have it in view to break the designs of the others by specious offers, which he could never

execute ; and the others, if they had any knowledge of the duke's designs, might act also in the same manner. I knew that the bulk of the nation was for the king of England, but I was still ignorant of the intentions of the Presbyterians, and of the west country people. I knew that these last were better armed than the rest, and I kept myself always ready to join that party which they should espouse, as they would not stand in need of so many supplies, and are not so divided into different factions as the rest, and therefore it would be more easy to put them in motion at a small expence.

I gave the king's letter to the high constable, who received it with the most profound respect. I gave him also a letter from the king of England, and having shewed him my powers, he told me that it was his opinion they might treat with me, and that he would consult his friends as to the best means of their assembling. I had no mind to contradict him, because I waited for an opportunity of having¹ matters so, that the difficulties of treating should come from them and not from me ; therefore I seemed to approve of his design, and to wait the success of it with impatience. In the mean time, I received a letter from the laird of Boyn, mentioning that he had seen the duke of Athol and some other chiefs ; that the duke had charged him to inform me of his good disposition, and that he was going to spend some days in visiting and conferring with his

¹ The London edition has 'turning.'

friends, and to take measures for treating with me ; that he allowed me to discover his intentions to the duke and dutchess of Gordon, to the earl of Errol and his mother, the earl of Strathmore, and to lord Stormont, but none others ; that he begged of me to come to lord Stormont's house at Scoon, that I might be nearer to him, and that upon his return he would treat with me in person, or send some person to me with full powers. The laird of Boyn also wrote to the high constable, desiring him in the duke of Athol's name to go and see him ; but the high constable did not think proper to undertake that journey, because as he had but just come home after a session of more than six months, he was apprehensive it would give umbrage to the government if he returned towards Edinburgh so soon ; besides, assemblies of Jacobites in different quarters of the kingdom would give room for a suspicion that some plot was carrying on. He therefore contented himself with writing his reasons to the duke of Athol, and with assuring him that he was ready to enter into all his measures, and that during my absence he would engage his friends to have every thing ready on my return.

Next day my messenger arrived from the duke of Gordon with a letter from the duke, in which he expressed a great impatience to see me, and promised to do every thing that depended upon him before I left the earl of Errol. As I proposed to divide the kingdom with Mr. Moray, and as he was well known

on the south side of the Tay, I thought it was too great a risk for him to go south, especially as the English for these three years past had put a price upon his head, having offered by proclamation 500*l.* sterling to the person that should seize him; I entreated him therefore to take the northern provinces, and to make a progress among the Highlanders, while I visited the rest of the kingdom. I found him willing to undertake any thing, even to go to his own country; but I contented myself with taking letters from him to his elder brother, the chief of the family of Moray, and for his other friends in the south.

The earl of Errol, who was very apprehensive lest Mr. Moray should be known, and the secret by that means discovered, observed to me, that he had reason to believe that I would easily gain the dukes of Gordon and Athol, the marquis of Drummond, and the earl of Broadalbin;¹ that these four lords are able to answer for all the Highlands,² and that therefore the journey of Mr. Moray might perhaps not be necessary. On this representation I changed my opinion, and begged Mr. Moray to wait till he heard from me before he began his journey, chusing rather to take the whole fatigue upon myself than expose him without an absolute necessity, and thereby risk

¹ John Campbell, first Earl of Breadalbane; born 1635?; died 1717.

² Hooke was certainly misinformed upon this point. In view of the part played by the Clans in 1715 and 1745, the neglect of them at this juncture was distinctly unwise.

a discovery of the secret. Having asked the character of the duke of Athol,¹ the earl of Errol told me that the duke was about forty years of age ; that he was very opinionated, but a man of great probity, and that his word was inviolable and may be depended upon ; that he is haughty and passionate ; that he was very powerful in several counties, and could raise nine battallions among his vassals, of 600 men each, armed, regimented, and disciplined ; that he had caused them to assemble and encamp every summer since the act of security had authorised the lords to arm and discipline their vassals ; that he himself had seen them encamped the year before, and that the duke could arm a greater number ; in short, including the interest of his friends, that he was absolutely the most powerful lord in Scotland. I began then to think it was time to act, but not chusing to engage myself too much with the friends of the king of England till I knew thoroughly the intentions of the duke of Hamilton, I acquainted the duke of Athol that I was coming into his neighbourhood, and that I would see the other lords on my journey, so that he would have full time to take measures with his friends. I wrote also to the laird of Boyn, and mentioned to him that I would stop at his brother-in-law's, the laird of Pourie, and entreated him to let me hear from him there.

At the same time, the better to manage the duke

¹ Cf. his character in Macky's *Memoirs*, 184.

of Hamilton, I dispatched a messenger to Edinburgh to Mr. Hall, his confidant. I expressed my surprize that he had not kept his word with me, as the earl of Errol had neither brought me a letter from him, nor a commission from the duke of Hamilton; that his conduct did not correspond with what he had written to me at the countess of Errol's; that I had orders to address myself principally to him, who I knew was the soul of the whole affair; therefore I desired that he would point me out the way how I might see him in safety; that I had hitherto entered into no measures with any one, nor would I till I had his answer; that I had some things to mention to him which would give him satisfaction; that it was now in his power to acquire to himself immortal honour, and to render himself greater than any of his ancestors; that I would remove all difficulties, and shew him easy expedients that he did not think of; that if he neglected this occasion, it would never return; that he would ruin not only his country but himself, the English having been too much irritated by him not to crush him; that I was going to set out on my journey, and would on a certain day be with one of his friends, whom I named, within a day's journey of Edinburgh, desiring Mr. Hall, who was there often, to be there that day, to shew my letter to the duke of Hamilton, to rectify the mistake about the letter from the king, and to bring me the duke's answer. I assured him that I was grieved to hear of his indisposition, and added

whatever I thought could express a hearty friendship and a strong desire to satisfy him in every thing.

I wrote also at the same time to the dutchess of Gordon, having been advised by the duke her husband, and the earl of Errol, to address myself to her, because the presbyterians, after they had abandoned the duke of Hamilton, had applied to the dukes of Gordon and Athol, and they had sent them to the dutchess of Gordon, who, residing generally at Edinburgh, could easily see them and receive their propositions. As these lords were narrowly watched in the country, I mentioned to the dutchess another place for her to send her answer to.

I remained two days more at the earl of Errol's to give the messenger time to deliver the letters; then, having left a letter to desire Mr. de Ligondes to keep off the coast some time longer, I travelled four days and four nights, and arrived at the laird of Pourie's early in the morning, where I found the laird of Boyn, who told me that the duke of Athol had received my answer; that he was gone to the further part of his territories to confer with his friends, and would return in ten days; that he begged of me to wait for him at lord Stormont's; that the earl of Strathmore desired to see me as soon as possible; that I would find a great union and perfect unanimity among the chiefs; that they had taken kindly my remonstrances with regard to the

differences among their families, and that I would have full cause to be satisfied.

I conferred some time with the laird of Pourie. He is about fifty years of age, and of great authority in his country. He told me that the people were so irritated against the English, and so fond of the king of England, that he and the other chiefs of the country were importuned by them every day; that he durst shew himself but very seldom among his vassals, as they pressed him continually to give them leave to arm, reproaching him that the nobility had sold and ruined their country, while the people sought only to take arms in its defence; and that the same spirit prevailed over the whole kingdom. He wanted much to keep me with him a few days, but I was obliged to be next day at the place where I had appointed to meet Mr. Hall, and I was very glad to take advantage of the absence of the duke of Athol while I endeavoured to do my utmost with the duke of Hamilton. I promised therefore to the laird of Pourie to see him on my return, and begged of him to visit lord Panmure,¹ his neighbour and friend, and to inform me by the laird of Boyn, when I could see him. I did not want this last to have any knowledge of what regarded the duke of Hamilton; therefore I agreed with him, that to avoid going backwards and forwards, which would give the inquisitive room for suspicion, he should remain with the laird of Pourie

¹ James Maule, fourth Earl of Panmure, Baron Maule of Brechin and Navar; died 1723.

till the return of the duke of Athol ; that I would give them notice, and that they should then come and meet me at lord Stormont's. From thence I went the same day to lord Strathmore, who is lord Middleton's nephew by his sister, is bordering on fifty years of age, and his family, of which he is the head, is one of the most antient in Scotland. He received me kindly, and expressed great zeal for the cause, confirming to me what the laird of Pourie had told me as to the general inclination of the people. He introduced me to the laird of Auchterhouse, his brother, who being come from the west country, assured me of the good disposition of the Presbyterians. Having told me that he was intimate with the laird of Carnwath, who has large territories in that country, I begged of him to inform him of my arrival, and to procure me an interview with him, and likewise to question him more particularly as to the intentions of the Presbyterians. Lord Strathmore confirmed to me the account I had already received of the duke of Hamilton, etc., adding, that he had always been that duke's friend, but that he had lately broke with him upon his hindering the people to take arms ; that he himself has all possible deference for the orders of the king of England, but that being upon the spot, he knows best what is for his service ; that he would willingly follow the duke of Hamilton if he would act at all, but since he will do nothing, he thinks it his duty to act without him ; that I would find the duke of Athol and all the rest

in the same opinion. He told me that I ought not to neglect the duke of Hamilton ; but that at the same time, the well-affected expected that I should communicate nothing to him of their affairs, as they could no longer trust him. All the rest, whom I have seen, or with whom I have corresponded by letters or otherwise, have required the same thing of me, so that it is sufficient to have remarked it once for all. Having avoided entering upon the affair till the duke of Athol's return, that I might have leisure to penetrate into the designs of the duke of Hamilton, I left lord Strathmore, and arriving at the place whither I had desired the dutchess of Gordon to address her letters, a packet from her was put into my hands, in which she informed me,

‘ That she saw some of the leading men among the Presbyterians every day ; that they were very zealous for the interest of the king of England ; that when she acquainted them with my arrival in the country, they seemed greatly pleased ; that she begged of me to come to Edinburgh to confer with them ; that their demands were very reasonable ; that before I should set out for Edinburgh, I should send her my promise not to trust to the duke of Hamilton ; that she had in her hands certain proofs that that duke had been the cause of all the misfortunes in Scotland ; that under pretence of entering into my views, he would prevent me from taking any effectual measures ; that it would appear in the end that he had no longer credit with any party ; that I could not be ignorant

that the Jacobites had broke with him, and that she would soon make it evident to me that the Presbyterians could no longer bear to hear his name mentioned ; that as she had heard that Mr. Hall was to go and meet me, she advised me to be upon my guard ; that he was an honest man, but saw only with the duke of Hamilton's eyes.'

I did not think it proper to send her the promise which she required ; but I answered, that I would endeavour to see her at Edinburgh as soon as possible ; I begged of her to keep the Presbyterians in their present good disposition, that I would be faithful to them, would keep their secret, not only as to him whom they distrusted, but with regard to all others, and would very soon let them hear from me. I sent her at the same time a letter from the queen of England, in which that princess was at great pains to justify the duke of Hamilton against the accusations of the duke of Gordon, and laid all the blame of the misfortunes of Scotland on the want of succours.

Having dispatched the Dutchess of Gordon's servant, I travelled all night, and next morning I arrived at that gentleman's where Mr. Hall waited for me. He made me a thousand compliments from the duke of Hamilton. He told me that his illness had hindered him from sending me an answer by the earl of Errol ; that the duke begged of me to send him the letters which I had got for him ; to inform him of the propositions which I had to make to him from the king ;

to come directly to Edinburgh, and that he would do his utmost endeavours to see me.

Having been informed that the duke had no longer any credit with the friends of the king of England, from so many quarters, and by so many different persons, that I could no longer doubt of it, I had now only the hopes that he had still interest with the Presbyterians to intrigue with them about his own elevation to the throne,¹ which in my first journey² I understood he had very much at heart ; but as I durst not open myself on that subject to Mr. Hall, who is absolutely in the interest of the king of England, I was therefore obliged to talk with him only in general terms.

I told him, that I was much afflicted on account of the illness of the duke of Hamilton ; that I would willingly send him the letters that I had for him, by which he would see the little reason he had to complain of the king ; that for me, I was not entrusted with any propositions, having only come to receive those of the Scots ; nevertheless, if any thing happened during the course of the negotiation in which I could serve him, he would find me most ready to give him all the satisfaction in my power ; that I would willingly proceed to Edinburgh, if he would assure me that my journey should not be fruitless ;

¹ Lockhart, however, attributes the Duke's cautious policy rather to his large interests in England than to any hopes he may have founded upon his royal descent.—*Lockhart Papers* [Lond. 1817], vol. i. 56.

² Hooke was in Scotland on a similar enterprise in August 1705

but to go thither without being sure of seeing him would be too rash a step ; that as the city was at present very empty, it would be impossible for a stranger to be there without being remarked ; that tho' I despised dangers in the course of my duty, yet that it would be acting contrary to the rules of prudence to expose myself needlessly ; and as doubtless he well knew the mind of the duke of Hamilton as to this, and I begged of him to tell it me without disguise.

He answered, that the duke of Hamilton earnestly desired to see me, but to tell me the truth, he did not believe that he could ; that he kept his bed, and was always surrounded with his domestics ; that the dutchess his wife never left him ; that he was transported to hear that the king had done him the honour to write to him, but that he had likewise expected a letter from the queen of England ; that as that princess had not written to him, he concluded that the scheme was not approved of by her, and that he had too much respect to her judgment to concern himself with an affair that she did not approve of ; that he had suspected that I had no propositions to make to him ; but that nevertheless I must begin with making propositions, otherwise no treaty could be concluded.

I answered, that I would not suffer myself to be [so] easily blinded ; that the duke of Hamilton had recourse to very weak shifts ; that he wanted only to find fault, and complained when he had all the reason

in the world to think himself greatly honoured ; that if the queen had written to him, he would have bethought himself of some other cause of discontent ; that he well knew the king of England had not written to him without consulting with the queen his mother ; that I could not promise to go to Edinburgh to no purpose ; that I had no time to waste ; that he need not expect propositions from me, or that I would persuade him to take arms, for that I would use no arguments with him on that subject ; that as he himself had been long solliciting succours, I was disposed to promise him whatever supplies he wanted ; that he had nothing to do, therefore, but to consider what plan to go upon, and what he was able to effect, as the succours would be regulated according to the state of the nation and its forces ; that therefore it was his part to make proposals to me, and that after I had fully weighed them, I would do my utmost to satisfy him ; that I had a very full authority to promise every thing that I thought necessary, and that I would not hesitate in agreeing to whatever I thought reasonable. I had reflected so fully upon the state and the forces of Scotland, that I was sure I could be able to answer all that they could alledge to prove the necessity of great supplies ; therefore I risked nothing in talking so boldly.¹

Mr. Hall answered me, that I ought to know the duke of Hamilton better than to scruple at these

¹ This characteristic sentence is, of course, to Chamillart.

difficulties, which it was his custom to start on all occasions, though he afterwards thought no more of them ; that he would relate to him my answer, and expected to find him very dry ; that he had charged him to learn from me, what succours the king would be pleased to grant to the Scots, and that he would soon return to me with the opinion of the duke of Hamilton on that subject. I told him, that it was not yet time to talk of succours ; that it was proper first to know perfectly the forces which the well affected could raise, and the means they have to support them ; and that after having reasoned on these points according to the rules of war, we might examine by the same rules what succours they would need ; and that I believed he (Mr. Hall) would not enter upon these particulars, they being out of his sphere ; and that mean while I would tell him, that although his most christian majesty had a great desire to assist the Scots, his majesty did not pretend to make their cause his principal affair ; that he was very willing to assist the Scots to make war, but that he was no way disposed to make war for them, and at his own expence ; that however dry my answer was, his commission was still more so ; and that I had no suspicion of so much coldness on the part of the duke of Hamilton.

He then asked me if the King would not grant 10,000 men ; I answered, No ; and that I did not believe that they could be so unreasonable to ask them. However, said he, the duke of Hamilton

believes that it is the least that can be asked. You may tell the duke of Hamilton, said I to him, that it is not usual to behave thus to a great king ; demands ought to be supported by reasons given in with them ; has he given you any ? He confessed he had not received any. Upon which I told him, that I advised him not to ask the half ; that perhaps, after examining every thing, it would be found that the Scots had no need of any foreign troops ; that it would be needless to talk more of it, as he was not more fully instructed ; and therefore I desired him to tell the duke of Hamilton from me, that I had something very particular to say to him, which I would mention to nobody but himself ; that I had so much respect for him, that I would wait yet four days before I entered into a negociation with the other lords, and that I would expect his answer at the Marquis of Drummond's.

I gave the letters [for¹] the Duke of Hamilton to Mr. Hall, and I begged of him to tell me what he thought of the inclinations of the earl of S—— his brother. I gave him also a copy of questions concerning the state of the nation, and entreated him to tell the duke of Hamilton that it would be necessary to answer all these particulars before he talked of succours. Mr. Hall returning to Edinburgh, I went the same day to Lord Stormont at Scoon, who, having been informed in February, by the earl of Errol, that I was coming to Scotland, had been more active

¹ The Edinburgh edition has 'from.'

than all the rest. He had made a progress through all the south of Scotland, where he is very powerful, and having also visited several of the chief men in the north of England, he had returned to Scoon to meet me. I did not think proper to stay there, being desirous to know what I had to expect from the duke of Hamilton before I engaged with the others. Lord Stormont confirmed to me what the earl of Strathmore and the laird of Boyn had told me of the duke of Athol, and he had appointed a day with him for my return to Scoon, and [having] agreed on the name I should take, and a pretence for my continuing some time, I then went to the marquis of Drummond's, where I arrived next day. He appeared so zealous, that I made not the least difficulty to show him the king's letter and that of the king of England. He expressed great acknowledgments for the honour his majesty did him. He told me, that having learned from his brother lord John Drummond the occasion of my journey, and that I was to visit him, he had sent to all his friends to know their opinion of the questions I had proposed concerning the state of the nation and its wants, and that he waited their answer; that his brother had gone to another quarter, and that he would return that day or to-morrow. He sent notice to the laird of Abercarny his neighbour, who came to see me the same day. This gentleman, after having seen Mr. Moray his brother's letter, and spoke of affairs in general, told me that he would consult with lord

Drummond and some other lairds, and give me a memorial signed by their hands, in answer to the questions I had proposed, as preliminaries to a treaty.

Lord John Drummond arriving next day, he told me that he had been with the Earl of Linlithgow,¹ Lord Kilsyth, and the Laird of Coxtoun, who had expressed great joy at the fine occasion of serving their king and country; that the first and last had promised to set their hands to every thing that could be expected of them, and that Lord Kilsyth appeared to be of the same mind, excepting only that he declared he could not desert the duke of Hamilton, and desired to act in concert with him. He, however, charged lord John Drummond to beg of me to come to them to consult about more effectual measures.

Next day, the brother of Mr. Moray, whom I had sent by the way of Holland, came to lord Drummond's; he had landed only two days before in Scotland; for having been taken ill in Holland, he had embarked on board a Scottish vessel in hopes of hastening his arrival, but had been three weeks in his passage to Edinburgh. I begged of him, as he had come so late, to keep at home, especially as intelligence had been sent from the court of St. Germain that he was to come over with me, and that therefore it would be necessary to take great precaution: I charged him only to support the

¹ James Livingston, fifth Earl of Linlithgow; died 1723.

well-affected in their present disposition after my return to France, and to keep himself quiet till he should hear of my departure.

About this time, I received the answer of Mr. Hall, mentioning that he had found the duke of Hamilton in a most distressed condition, reduced to the last extremity, breathing with the utmost difficulty, having had twenty-nine fits of the fever; that the Duke was in despair that he could not see me; that he loved and esteemed me; that he would willingly give his life to have some discourse with me; that he made not the least doubt of my friendship, therefore begged of me to excuse his not answering the king's letter, nor that of the king of England; that he would do himself that honour with the first opportunity after he had recovered his strength; that he would concur in all reasonable measures for the restoration of the king of England; but it was his opinion that that Prince ought not to risk himself without a considerable body of troops, and that he wished me a good voyage.

I was well informed that the duke of Hamilton was not so bad as Mr. Hall would make me believe. I knew not what to think of his way of acting: sometimes I imagined that he was reconciled underhand to the court of London, and at other times I believed that he only made so many difficulties that he might be the more intreated. I thought therefore that I ought not to make him too many advances; that if he had made his peace with Queen Anne,

I ought to conceal from him the state of our affairs ; and that if he wanted to make himself be entreated, I ought to change my course, and by neglecting him, would make him court me.

I was quickly convinced that he did not act sincerely ; for having learned that Mr. Hall had written by the same messenger to two of his friends, I found means to get possession of the letters, in which he had written more openly. He says in the letters, that the duke of Hamilton had thought that if he appeared too forward to accept of the succours of the king, that would put the king of England under a necessity of coming over to Scotland, because the king would have just reason to be dissatisfied with that Prince if he refused to go thither when his subjects invited him and armed themselves to receive him ; and fearing also that the king only made these advances to excuse himself from doing any thing else in favour of that Prince, the duke had judged it proper, *in order to embarrass his Majesty* (these are his very words), to demand that the king should secure a considerable party in England, or that his majesty should send a body of troops for the conquest of England, to act in conjunction with the Scottish army ; that the duke of Hamilton had it in his power to place the king of England on the throne of Scotland without the assistance of France, although that Prince should bring no more than a single page with him ; but in that case, the king of England would depend too much upon his subjects.

I saw by these letters that the duke of Hamilton sought underhand to break all the measures of the well-affected, and then to excuse himself to them by false pretences, which might lessen their confidence in the king's goodness and their attachment to France.

I was so incensed at this proceeding, that I would write no more either to the duke of Hamilton or to Mr. Hall; I said only by word of mouth to the messenger who brought me the letter, that I had no answer to return.

Upon reflecting on the expressions used by the Duke, that he was able to put the K—— of England upon the throne without the assistance of France, and at [the] same time observing that he endeavoured to hinder that Prince from coming over to Scotland, it came into my mind that he had still an intention of seizing the throne himself. How he was able to do so was the question. I was well assured that he would not have the least support from the nobility and gentry. The Presbyterians then were his only resource: and as I was not sufficiently informed of their dispositions, I resolved forthwith to give my whole attention to know them thoroughly, with the intention, that if I found them still in his interest, to fall upon some means of renewing my correspondence with the duke. I dispatched a courier to the dutchess of Gordon to excuse my going to Edinburgh. I represented to her, that since she so greatly distrusted the duke of

Hamilton, it would not be proper for me to come so near him ; that he would infallibly learn that I was in the city, and that from thence great inconveniences would ensue. I therefore begged of her to send me the particulars of what the chiefs of the Presbyterians had proposed to her, and the same day I returned to lord Stormont's. The duke of Athol had not yet returned, and while I waited for him, I had a visit from the laird of Auchterhouse, lord Strathmore's brother. He gave me the laird of Carnwarth's answer to the letter that he had written to him at my desire, and begged of me to excuse his friend for not waiting upon me, as he was detained by very pressing affairs at one of his seats near Edinburgh. He told me that the laird of Carnwarth had authorised him to sign in his name all that should be agreed to. His letter mentions, 'that he came from his estate in the west country, where he had carefully endeavoured to inform himself of the disposition of the Presbyterians ; that he had been agreeably surprised to find an alteration in their sentiments almost miraculous. You cannot imagine, says he, the surprising change happened in that country, in the maxims and inclinations of the inhabitants, the justness of their opinion with regard to the present state of affairs, their zeal, and their eagerness to undertake something for their king and their country ; and this disposition does not prevail in some corners only, but is universal throughout all the counties. Can it be possible that so fine an

opportunity will not be laid hold of?' The laird of Carnwath is grandson of the famous Mr. Lockhart, who was ambassador in France within these fifty years ; he has more than 100,000 livres of land-rent ; he was named one of the commissioners for the treaty of Union. He protested against all their proceedings, and always opposed the Union in Parliament.

The laird of Stenhope mentioned the same things to lord Stormont concerning the Presbyterians ; and the laird of Desterenson, a great Presbyterian, whose estate lies in these counties, coming to Scoon, confirmed to me all that I have mentioned, and that his vassals earnestly pressed him to take off the mask and join the friends of the king of England. The national assembly of the Presbyterian clergy, being then assembled, approved of every thing that the provincial Synods and Presbyteries had done against the Union, and that assembly rejected the motion of the earl of Glasgow,¹ the queen's commissioner, for congratulating that princess upon the success and conclusion of the treaty.

Happening about this time to fall sick, I saw plainly that it would be impossible for me to go to all the Peers and Lairds who had desired to see me. I therefore dispatched to them several messengers to inform them of my illness, and to entreat them either to come to me, or to declare their sentiments

¹ David Boyle, first Earl of Glasgow ; died 1733.

to those of their friends who proposed to wait upon me. The latter expedient I found was most agreeable to them. Lord Kilsyth, who was an intimate friend of Lord Stormont, and who was wont to come often to Scoon, wrote that he was indispensably obliged to be at Edinburgh next day, but that he would not fail to be in a few days at Scoon. Lord Stormont, on giving me Lord Kilsyth's letter, bade me prepare for an attack, as his friend had gone to Edinburgh for no other purpose but to consult the Duke of Hamilton, and to receive his instructions; that I had need to be firm and always on my guard, for if I should yield in the least, I would find myself the dupe of those two Lords; that he was fully assured of the good intentions of Lord Kilsyth, but that he was too much attached to the duke of Hamilton, who he knew did not act sincerely.

The Dutchess of Gordon having insisted on seeing me at Edinburgh, I answered her, that being sick and bed-fast, it was impossible for me to undertake that journey; therefore begged that she would not neglect to send me not only the particulars, but also a person fully instructed to acquaint me of all that she had to say, more especially as the time was hastening. She submitted to my arguments, and dispatched to me a gentleman named Strachan, in whom the chief of the Presbyterians had an entire confidence. Besides the Dutchess of Gordon's letter of credence, which was very ample, this gentle-

man gave me a memorial written with the hand of the Laird of Kersland, the most leading man among the Presbyterians, and chief of one of the most considerable families in Scotland, of which the following is a copy.

A memorial of the Laird of Kersland.

The Presbyterians are resolved never to agree to the Union, because it hurts their consciences, and because they are persuaded that it will bring an infinite number of calamities upon this nation, and will render the Scots slaves to the English. They are ready to declare unanimously for King James, and only beg his Majesty that he will never consent to the Union, and that he will secure and protect the Protestant religion. The declaration with respect to religion ought to be in general terms.

Those among the Presbyterians who are called Cameronians will raise 5000 men of the best soldiers in the kingdom ; and the other Presbyterians will assemble 8000 more. They beg that the King of England would give them officers, especially general officers, and send them powder, for they have arms already. Whenever his Britannic Majesty shall have granted the preceeding demands, and shall have promised to follow his supplies in person to Scotland, they will take arms against the government, and will give such other assurances of their fidelity as shall be desired. Provided powder be sent them, they engage to defend themselves in their country with their own forces alone against all the strength of England for a year, till the arrival of the king and the succours that he shall bring with him. They leave it to that Prince to bring with him such a number of troops as he shall think proper. They believe, however, that he will not have occasion for a great number. They have a correspondence with the north of Ireland, and they are certain that the Scots who inhabit that province will declare for them. . . .

Not doubting any longer of the designs of the Presbyterians, I now thought only of rendering the design more general, and of engaging in it the most considerable lords in Scotland. The duke of Athol being the principal among them, I waited his return with impatience ; and he, finding that his journey would be longer than he expected, sent me two of his brothers, lord James Murray and his other brother,¹ who, having married the heiress of the house of Nairn, was become lord Nairn, and had taken the name and arms of that house. He would never take the oath of allegiance to king William or queen Anne. They told me that the duke their brother was making a tour among his friends and his vassals, and had sent them before him to assure me of his zeal and of his good intentions. . . .

After having talked a little together, they² asked of me if I would not promise them 5000 men [from France]. I answered them . . . that the question was not whether the king could send 5000 men to Scotland, but whether they had actually need of them to deliver them from the yoke of the English ; that they had not yet proved their want of them ; and to put an end of the dispute, I would propose a difficulty which I believe they would find it very hard to answer ; that the English had their eyes

¹ William Murray or Nairne, second Baron Nairne ; died 1724.

² Lord Stormont and the Hon. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse were also present.

upon them, being well apprised of the general discontent of their nation ; that as 5000 men could not be embarked without some bustle, on the first news of the preparations the English would not fail to suspect some commotion, and would immediately seize the leading men in Scotland, which would entirely break all their measures and make their design miscarry, without leaving them any hopes of their being able to resume it, since it was not an enterprise to be attempted twice.

I know not whether this reflection had any weight with them, or if they perceived that I sought pretences to avoid promising them any thing ; but they instantly broke off the conferences and retired into another apartment.

Hooke was, in fact, anxious to avoid giving any distinct pledge on behalf of Louis the Fourteenth, and in the following conferences he succeeded in inducing the Scottish Lords to waive any stipulations as to the exact amount of men and money with which the French King was to support their enterprise. The Duke of Hamilton, who remained at Edinburgh, continued to demand a definite undertaking on Louis's part as to the measure of help which he was prepared to give. Finally a Memorial was drawn up of the tenor that Hooke required, to be presented by him to Louis on behalf of the nobles.

I immediately dispatched several messengers express to different lairds, informing them that the gentlemen had chose rather to make a representa-

tion of their wants than to conclude a treaty. The rest approved of their determination.

The duke of Athol arriving at his seat of Huntinghall, those who were at Scoon went to wait on him ; and next day they shewed me a draught of their memorial, in which they neither required a stipulated number of troops, nor a certain sum of money, but referred themselves absolutely to the king. . . . When lord Stormont went to him, he shewed him their memorial finished. The duke of Athol desired him to sign for him, and then added to it the last clause.¹ . . .

A fair copy of the memorial being written, lord Stormont signed it first, and the laird of Boyn afterwards. . . .

Lord Stormont is turned of forty, and is of the house of Murray. He is rich and powerful on the frontiers of England and in the middle of Scotland. He is a man of great resolution, strict probity, and uncommon presence of mind. He has signed for ten peers and a great many gentlemen in the south of Scotland. He has given me a list of their names, and shewn me several of their letters. The peers are, the duke of Athol, the earls of Niddesdale,² Traquair,³ Galloway,⁴ and Home,⁵ and

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 109.

² William Maxwell, fifth Earl of Nithsdale ; born 1676 ; died 1744.

³ Charles Stewart, fourth Earl of Traquair ; b. 1659 ; died 1741.

⁴ James Stewart, fifth Earl of Galloway ; died 1746.

⁵ Alexander Home, seventh Earl of Home ; died 1720.

the lords Kenmure,¹ Nairn, Sinclair,² Semple,³ and Oliphant.⁴ . . .

After taking leave of lord Stormont . . . I paid a visit to the marquis of Drummond. He and his friends had drawn up a memorial, of which they gave me a copy : but when they had read that which I was charged with, they desired me to suppress theirs, and lord Drummond and the laird of Logie (Thomas Drummond) his relation signed mine in the name of the others, that is to say, of all the chieftains of the Highlanders of the west of Scotland.

Lord Kinnaird⁵ signed the memorial the same day. He refused to see the names of those who had signed before him, saying, that what he did was from a principle of duty, and what he thought every honest man ought to do, and that he wanted not the authority nor the example of those who had preceded him.

The laird of Abercairnie, chief of the family of Moray, signed it for himself and for the lords of Fintrie and of Newton.

Being obliged to stay some time at Drummond on account of my health, I desired lord John Drummond to go and see lord Broadalbin, and inform him of what was doing for the service of the king of England and for the good of Scotland.

¹ Alexander Gordon, sixth Viscount Kenmure ; died 1716.

² Henry St. Clair, tenth Baron Sinclair ; born 1660 ; died 1723.

³ Francis Sempill, tenth Baron Sempill ; born 1680? ; died 1708?

⁴ Charles Oliphant, seventh Baron Oliphant ; died 1709?

⁵ Patrick Kinnaird, third Baron Kinnaird of Inchturre ; died 1715.

Lord Broadalbin is near eighty years old. He is one of the chiefs of the family of Campbell, is very powerful in the north and north-west of Scotland, and a declared enemy to the duke of Argyle, who is of the same family, but absolutely sold to the English. He is reckoned the best head in Scotland.

The day after his arrival at the earl of Broadalbin's, lord John Drummond wrote to me as follows: 'I am well satisfied with my negotiation; for though lord Broadalbin would not sign any paper, I found him as hearty in the cause as can be wished. He promises to do every thing that can be expected from a man of his weight, who is truly zealous for the service of his majesty; as he will shew as soon as he shall hear of his being landed. In the mean time he is to see the marquis of Drummond again, in order to concert with him measures for securing the success of the enterprize.'

From Drummond I went to see the earl of Strathmore, who signed for himself and for the lords of Wigton¹ and Lithgow, who had desired him to do so. He also did himself the honour of writing to the king.

His brother (Patrick Lyon), laird of Auchterhouse, signed for himself and for the laird of Carnwath, whom I mentioned before.

From hence I went to the earl of Panmure's, brother-in-law to the duke of Hamilton. He signed

¹ John Fleming, eighth Earl of Wigtoun; born 1673?; died 1744.

the memorial, and gave me a letter for his majesty, and another for the king of England. It was there that I first learnt the news of the victory of Almanza,¹ which gave great joy over all Scotland.

I staid some days with the laird of Pourie (Thomas Fotheringham), who signed for himself and for the whole shire of Angus, and gave me a list of all the nobility of that shire of whom he said he was certain.

From thence I went to the duke of Gordon's in the depth of the north. He would not sign the memorial, because one of the articles of it required the personal appearance of the king of England, and he could not prevail upon himself to think of exposing this prince to the dangers of war, though he owned at the same time that his presence in Scotland would be worth ten thousand men. He was likewise not of the opinion of the others, in their demanding of his majesty to send troops into England or Scotland. His grace thought, that if the English should withdraw theirs from the Low Countries, there would not be any need of this new assistance, and that the king's forces would be more usefully employed against his enemies on that side. However, in his letter to his majesty he approves of the memorial, and he told me that he found it agreeable to the sentiments of all his friends with whom he had taken measures.

¹ Fought on April 25 [N.S.], 1707, and resulted in a victory for the French, under the Duke of Berwick, over the Earl of Galway and the Marquis Das Minas.

Going to see the apostolical vicar, I fell ill a second time at his house.

The laird of Coxtoun (Alexis Innes) came to see me there. He is about forty-five years of age, has been in the army, and is rich and powerful between the rivers Spey and Ness in the north of Scotland. I had inform'd him of my arrival before I left the earl of Errol's, and Mr. Moray had seen him since. He had visited all his shire, had conferred with the Stuarts, and finding the memorial agreeable to the sentiments of those he had consulted, he signed it for himself, for the earl of Murray,¹ and for the laird of Grant.

After recovering my health a little at the apostolical vicar's, I returned back to the earl of Errol's castle. He had consulted his chief friends, and was not satisfied . . . that a treaty had not been made; because, said he, as the case now stands we are engaged, and the king does not promise us anything. But, after knowing the reasons of the others, he approved them. . . . He signed the memorial for himself, for the earls of Caithness,² Eglinton, Aberdeen,³ and Buchan,⁴ for lord Saltoun, and for the shires of Aberdeen and Merns.

The Great Marshal, being taken ill at Edinburgh, commissioned his cousin, Mr. Keith, to sign for him,

¹ Charles Stewart, nineteenth Earl of Moray; died 1735.

² Alexander Sinclair, twenty-ninth Earl of Caithness; died 1765.

³ George Gordon, first Earl of Aberdeen; born 1637; died 1720.

⁴ David Erskine, twenty-first Earl of Buchan; born 1672; died

and wrote me word that he was not able to travel, but desired me to assure the king that he would be one of the first to join the king of England upon his arrival. He has likewise promised 28 field pieces and two battering cannon, which are in his castle of Dunotter in the east of Scotland.

So, having sounded public opinion in Scotland, Hooke returned to France in May 1707,¹ and presented to Louis the Fourteenth the following

Memorial of the Scottish Lords addressed to the king of France (sent over with Colonel Hooke).²

His Most Christian Majesty having been pleased to offer his protection to the kingdom of Scotland, in order to restore its lawful king, and to secure to this nation its liberty, privileges, and independance : and his majesty having sent the honourable colonel Hooke (who, besides his past services, has now again given fresh and signal proofs of his capacity, zeal, and fidelity for the service of the most christian king, and of his Britannic majesty) to confer with the peers and other nobility of this nation touching the measures that may be most conducive to so just and glorious an end :

We the underwritten peers and chiefs, having seen the full powers given by his most christian majesty to the said colonel, do in our own names, and in the name of the greatest part of this nation, whose dispositions are well known unto us, accept the protection and assistance of his most christian majesty with the utmost gratitude ; and we take the liberty most humbly to lay before his said majesty the following representation of the

¹ The last event he records is the receipt of a letter from the Duke of Hamilton dated May 19.

² Printed at pp. 69 *et seq.* of the *Negotiations*.

present state of this nation, and of the things we stand in need of.

The greatest part of Scotland has always been well-disposed for the service of its lawful king ever since the revolution, as his most christian majesty has often been informed by some among us. But this good disposition is now become universal. The shires of the west, which used to be the most disaffected, are now very zealous for the service of their lawful king. We have desired colonel Hooke to inform his most christian majesty of the motives of this happy change.

To reap the benefit of so favourable a disposition and of so happy a conjuncture, the presence of the king our sovereign will be absolutely necessary; the people being unwilling to take arms without being sure of having him at their head. We have desired colonel Hooke to represent to his majesty the reasons of this demand.

The whole nation will rise upon the arrival of its king; he will become master of Scotland without any opposition, and the present government will be entirely abolished.

Out of the numbers that will rise we will draw 25,000 foot, and 5000 horse and dragoons; and with this army we will march strait into England: we, and the other peers and chiefs, will assemble all our men, each in his respective shire.

The general rendezvous of the troops on the north of the river Tay shall be at Perth: those of the western shires shall assemble at Stirling; and those of the south and east at Dumfries and at Duns.

Those that shall be nearest the place where the king of England shall land shall repair to him.

We have computed the number of men which will be furnished by each of the shires that we are best acquainted with; and we have desired colonel Hooke to inform his most christian majesty thereof.

For the subsistence of these troops there will be found in our granaries the harvests of two years; so that a crown will

purchase as much flour as will keep a man two months. There will be commissaries in each shire, to lay up the corn in the magazines in such places as shall be thought most proper, and commissaries-general, who will take care to supply the army with provisions wherever it shall march.

The same commissaries will furnish it with meat, beer, and brandy, of which there is great plenty all over the kingdom.

There is woolen cloth enough in the country to clothe a great number of troops, and the peers and other chiefs will take care to furnish it.

There is a great quantity of linen, shoes, and bonnets for the soldiers. They will be furnished in the same manner as the woolen cloaths. Of hats there are but few.

The same commissaries will furnish carriages for the provisions, of which the country abounds.

The inclinations of all these shires (excepting those of the west) for the king of England have been so well known and so public at all times since the revolution, that the government has taken care to disarm them frequently; so that we are in great want of arms and ammunition.

The Highlanders are pretty well armed after their manner.

The shires of the west are pretty well armed.

The peers and the nobility have some arms.

There is no great plenty of belts and pouches, but there are materials enough to make them.

The few cannons, mortars, bombs, grenades, etc., that are in the kingdom, are in the hands of the government.

No great plenty will be found of hatchets, pick-axes, and other instruments for throwing up the earth: but there are materials for making them.

Commissaries will be appointed to furnish cattle for the conveyance of the provisions, artillery, and carriages, the country being plentifully provided therewith.

There are some experienced officers, but their number is not great.

With respect to money, the state of this nation is very deplor-

able. Besides that the English have employed all sorts of artifices to draw it out of the kingdom, the expedition to Darien has cost large sums: besides, our merchants have exported a great deal: we have had five years of famine, during which we were obliged to send our money into England and Ireland to purchase provisions; and the constant residence of our peers and nobility at London has drained us of all the rest. What our nation can contribute towards the war is therefore reduced to these two heads: the public revenue, which amounts to one hundred thousand five hundred pounds Sterling a year; and what the nobility will furnish in provisions, cloaths, etc., the quantities and proportions of which will be settled upon the arrival of the king of England. Having thus set forth the state of the nation, we most humbly represent to his Most Christian Majesty as follows:

That it may please his Most Christian Majesty to cause the king our sovereign to be accompanied by such a number of troops as shall be judged sufficient to secure his person against any sudden attempts of the troops now on foot in Scotland, being about two thousand men, which may be joined by three or four English regiments at present quartered upon our frontiers.

It would be presumption in us to specify the number: but we must humbly represent to his majesty, that the number ought to be regulated according to the place where the king of England shall land. If his majesty lands north of the river Tay, a small number will suffice for his security, because he will be joined in a few days by considerable numbers of his subjects: he will be covered by the river Tay and the frith of Forth, and all the shires behind him are faithful to his interests.

But if, on the contrary, his majesty lands upon the south-west or south coast, he will want a large body of troops, on account of the proximity of the forces of the English and of their regular troops. We believe that eight thousand men will be sufficient.

But with respect to the number of troops, we readily agree

to whatever shall be settled between the two kings; being persuaded that the tenderness of the Most Christian king for the person of our sovereign falls no way short of that of his faithful subjects.

We also beseech his majesty to honour this nation with a general, to command in chief under our sovereign, of distinguished rank, that the first men of Scotland may be obliged to obey him without difficulty; and to cause him to be accompanied by such general officers as the two kings shall judge proper.

The peers and other lords, with their friends, desire to command the troops they shall raise, in quality of colonels, lieutenant-colonels, captains, and ensigns: but we want majors, lieutenants, and serjeants to discipline them.

And if our enemies withdraw their troops from foreign countries to employ them against us, we hope that his Most Christian majesty will send some of his over to our assistance.

The great scarcity of money in this country obliges us to beseech his Most Christian majesty to assist us with an hundred thousand pistoles, to enable us to march strait into England. We stand also in need of a regular monthly subsidy during the war: but we submit, in that article, to whatever shall be agreed on by the two kings.

We likewise beseech his Most Christian majesty to send with the king our sovereign arms for twenty-five thousand foot and five thousand horse or dragoons, to arm our troops, and to be kept in reserve, together with powder and ball in proportion, and also some pieces of artillery, bombs, grenades, etc., with officers of artillery, engineers, and cannoniers. We submit also in this to whatever shall be settled between the two kings.

We have desired colonel Hooke to represent to his Most Christian majesty the time we judge most proper for this expedition, and also the several places of landing, and those for erecting magazines, with our reasons for each: and we most humbly beseech his majesty to choose that which he shall like best.

And whereas several of this nation and a great number of the English have forgot their duty towards their sovereign, we take the liberty to acquaint his most Christian majesty, that we have represented to our king what we think is necessary his majesty should do to pacify the minds of his people, and to oblige the most obstinate to return to their duty, with respect to the security of the Protestant religion, and other things which it will be necessary for him to grant to the Protestants. We most humbly thank his Most Christian majesty for the hopes he has given us by colonel Hooke, of having our priveleges restored in France, and of seeing our king and this nation included in the future peace; and we beseech your majesty to settle this affair with the king our sovereign.

We have fully informed colonel Hooke of several other things, which we have desired him to represent to his Most Christian majesty.

And, in the pursuit of this great design, we are resolved mutually to bind ourselves by the strictest and most sacred ties, to assist one another in this common cause, to forget all family differences, and to concur sincerely and with all our hearts, without jealousy or distrust, like men of honour, in so just and glorious an enterprise. In testimony whereof we have signed these presents, the seventh day of the month of May, of the year one thousand seven hundred and seven.

(Signed)	ERROL.	N. MORAY.
	PANMURE.	N. KEITH.
	STORMONT.	DRUMMOND.
	KINNAIRD.	THO. FOTHERINGHAM.
	JAMES OGILVIE.	ALEX. INNES.

Lockhart, *Memoirs*, 358.

Hookes had no sooner finished his Negotiations than he took his leave of his Friends, assuring them that the K—g should be in *Scotland* by the next

August, and went in a *French* Ship which waited upon him on the *North* Coast of *France*, where he arrived in *May* 1707, and having given an account of his Embassy and the Reception he met with, Triumphed no little over the Earl of *Middleton*, whom and his Friends in *Scotland* he accused of backwardness to serve the King.

In the mean time every body expected to have heard of the Designs being put in Execution ; but some Weeks before the Month of *August* (the time appointed for making the Attempt) Notice was sent that it could not be done then ; and thereafter several Diets were prefixed which took as little effect, and it was next to a Miracle that so long delay and so many off puts did not bring all to Light, and occasion, either then or at least afterwards when the Attempt was made and miscarried, the ruin of many People ; for as I said before, the Design was known to so many People, and so much discoursed of in common Conversation, that it was strange Witnesses and Proofs should be wanting to have hanged any Man. But such was the Loyalty and Affection of the People to the King, that tho' the Government knew there had been a Correspondence with *France*, yet could they not procure any certain Intelligence, nor afterwards the least accusation against any one of the many who they knew were deeply dip'd and concern'd in it.

But to proceed, after several times had been appointed for making the Attempt, and nevertheless

no appearance of its being Executed, People began to think that the *French* King's Affairs being somewhat retrieved by the Battle of *Almanza*, which happened during the time *Hooks* was in *Scotland*, he was resolved to reserve this Design in favour of the King's to another occasion; and this proceeded from reflecting on *Hooks* Behaviour here, and Jealousy, I'm afraid too well grounded, that the *French* King only minded our King in so far as his own Interest led him, and made use of him as a Tool to promote and be subservient to his own private Designs.¹

None were more of this Opinion than the Duke of *H[amilto]n*; so that having waited, without seeing any Reason to believe the *French* King was in earnest, till the end of *January* 1708, his affairs in *England* requiring his Presence, he set out about that time from *Kinniel* to *Lancaster*. . . . But on the third Morning after he set out, as he was preparing to move on from Sir *David Murray* of

¹ On August 2, 1707, the Duke of Hamilton urges the Chevalier to 'come soon, otherwise the opportunity will be lost.' The Duke of Gordon writes to Chamillart on August 9, 'We are in great consternation here at not hearing from you.' The Laird of Kersland writes to the same on August 16 and 20, 'Once more, do not lose time; for if you do, you lose every thing.' 'For God's sake! What are you thinking of?' writes the Duchess of Gordon, '. . . Come when you please, and to what port you please, you will be well received; but if you do not come soon, or if you do not send us speedily an assurance of assistance, the party will be broken and it will be too late.'—*Colonel Hooke's Negotiations*, 106-8.

Stenhope's House, where he had been all Night, an Express from Captain *Straton* overtook him, intimating, That by the Post which came in the Night before, he had received Letters with an account that at last the Expedition was resolv'd on, and would be Executed betwixt [then] and the middle of *March*. Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath* having convey'd his Grace so far, he shew'd him Captain *Straton's* Letter, and seem'd extreamly puzzled how to behave, but after some Consideration resolved to proceed on his Journey; for, said he to Mr. *Lockhart*, the Design cannot be long a Seceret, since the Preparations for it will be publick to all the World; and if I, after I am come so far on my Journey with my Family, do all of a sudden return back, every Body will conclude it is with a Design to join the King, and so I shall be exposed to the Malice of my Enemies, and be certainly clapt up in Prison and sent to *England*; whereas, if I go on, perhaps they may think I am not very forward in hazarding, and have stept out of the way on purpose, and an Express can be easily at me in two or three Days; I shall be always ready, and am able to force my way thro' *England* to *Scotland*; besides, the People of *Scotland* are all ready enough to join the King at the Instant he Lands, and I do not know but I may do him better Service by being in the *North* of *England* to excite his Friends there to appear for him. Mr. *Lockhart* having little to say against these Reasons, his Grace desir'd him to

communicate the same to Captain *Straton* and his Friends, and that they should send off an Express to him as soon as they had reason to believe that the King was ready to Sail, and another as soon as he was Landed; and he concerted with Mr. *Lockhart*, that upon the K—g's Landing he should instantly repair to the Shire of *Lanerk* (where both their chief Interests lay) to raise and lead their Friends and such as would take Arms to meet the Duke at *Dumfries*, where he promised to meet him, and where he was sure to be joined with a great number of Horse and Foot, both from that Country and the *Western Borders of England*, and would instantly Proclaim the King there, and thus be in Condition to defend the Borders of [*Scotland*] against any Attempt from *England* until a *Scots Army* was formed, the Parliament convened, and the King's Affairs settled. Thus they two parted, and you shall see by and by, his Grace would have Executed what he then proposed.

It is beyond my reach to determine the Cause of this sudden Change in the *French King's Councils*; some were pleased to say that it was long e'er he could be prevailed upon to make the Attempt; others again, that he all along design'd it; but the time of its being accomplished was kept a mighty Secret as long as possible from any body but his own Ministers, because of the Divisions that were at the Court of *St. Germains*, and the Intelligence that was found to have gone too often from thence

to *England*. It won't be much out of the way to leave them for some time in *France* busie in making Preparations for the Design, and have under Consideration what probability the King had to expect Success.

In the first place then, he was sure to be made welcome in *Scotland*, to have his right asserted by the Parliament, and an Army of Thirty or Forty Thousand Men (picked out of the many Thousands that would have offer'd their Service) raised, the Nobility, Gentry, and many of the Commons being prepared to receive him, and having provided themselves with good Horses. The regular Troops wanted Ammunition and other Warlike Stores, and did not exceed Two Thousand Five Hundred Men, of whom at least 2000 would have infallibly have joyned with him, nay, the very Guards done Duty on his Person the first Night he had Landed ; all the Garrisons were unprovided and must have yielded at the first Summons ; the Equivalent Money which came down the preceeding Summer from *England* was still in the Country, and a good part of it in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and would have helped well to carry on the War. A Fleet of *Dutch* Ships had some time before run a Ground on the Coast of *Angus*, wherein was a vast quantity of Powder, Cannon, and small Arms, and a great sum of Money, all which the Gentlemen in that Country would have secured : In short, all things concurred to render the Design successful in *Scotland*.

In *England* the regular Troops were scarcely five Thousand Men, and those for the most part newly raised, the opposite Parties and Factions so numerous, and Jealousies and Animosities so great, that it might reasonably be expected (as it actually happen'd) all would be in the greatest Confusion imaginable, for every Party suspected the other was privy to the Design; so that in all appearance every body would have succumbed, or if any resistance had been made, the *Scots* would have given such a Diversion to the *English* Arms, That *France* had a fair Opportunity of reducing *Holland*, and by that means breaking the Confederacy, and then the hardest part was over. It would appear odd that *England* should be thus catch'd Napping, when, as I told you before, they knew what Temper *Scotland* was in; and that their had been trafficking with *France* was no secret; for besides that the design was too much devulged at home, The Duke of *Hamilton* was assured by a certain General Officer, That during the last Campaign the Duke of *Marlborough* had Information of the whole Project from a Person belonging to the Earl of *Melfort*.¹ Whether the *English* did not believe that the *French* King would have prosecuted the Measures, or as some think, that the Duke of *M[arlboroug]h* and the Earl of *G[odolphin]* were Privy and had Consented to it, or Content it should go on, resolving e'er it ended

¹ John Drummond, first Earl and titular Duke of Melfort; born 1650?; died 1715.

to provide for their own security, or what other Reason to Assign for *England's* being so unprovided is what I can't determine : But certain it was, that *England* was no ways in a readiness to oppose such a Storm ; and its more as probable, if the King had but once set his foot on the *Scots* Shore, all his Subjects would have soon submitted, the fatal Union been dissolv'd, and himself restor'd to his Crowns.¹

The King's part was to hasten over to *Scotland*, to bring Money, Arms, and Ammunition for the Men he could raise, where upon his Landing, to March strait to *Edinburgh*, there to Proclaim himself King of *Scotland*, declare the Union Void and Null, emitt a Declaration or Manifesto promising to Maintain and Govern his Subjects of both Kingdoms by the Established Laws thereof, Calling a New and Free Parliament, to whom should be referr'd the determination of all religious Affairs, and further providing for the Security of both Civil and Religious Concerns ; Lastly, requiring all his good Subjects to assist him on his design of recovering his own and the Nations Rights and Priveledges, and as soon as the Parliament had adjusted Affairs and form'd an Army, to March

¹ How unprepared Scotland was to meet the impending expedition is obvious from the statistics furnished in *An Account of the late Scotch Invasion, with true copies of authentick Papers* [n.p. 1709]. The pamphlet includes a forcible speech by Lord Haversham in the House of Lords on the matter ; information as to the condition of the Scottish fortresses ; and various letters of David Earl of Leven and Melville, then Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, in support of Haversham's allegations.

without delay into *England*. These then being the Grounds whereupon the King was to form his Design, let us return to where we left off.

No sooner did the *French* begin to make their Preparations at *Dunkirk* than all the World save *Scotland* was amazed! *England* was Confounded, and *Holland* affraid of their own Terretories: But upon the King's coming thither in Person, the design was clearly discover'd in *Scotland*, nothing was to be heard but Prayers for a Lucky Voyage; and when the time drew near, most People of note slip'd privately out of *Edinburgh* to the Country, to prepare themselves for joyning the King. In *England* the Consternation was General, the Publick Credit gave wa[y] to so great a degree that their came such a Demand of Money upon the Bank, that had the News of Sir *George Bing's* having Chased the *French* off the *Scots* Coast come a Day later, it had broke and been shut up, and with it the Credit of the Government, which alone was a sufficient Compensation for all the Expençe the *French* were at.

However, it being high time to provide against the Storm, Major General *Cadogan* shipped in *Holland* Ten *British* Battalions to be ready to, and which actually did Sail for *Tinmouth* as soon as they were Inform'd the *French* Fleet was Sailed. Among these Troops were the Earl of *Orkney's* Regiment and the *Scots* Fuziliers, who declar'd they would never draw their Swords against their Country; but before these Troops could have come to *Scotland* the first Brush

had been over, and all things in a readiness to have given them a warm reception ; neither could the Forces which were order'd to march from *England* (most of them being in the Southern parts of it) and from *Ireland* have come in time to prevent *Scotland's* being in Arms and Drawn together to support their King and Country, and in that Case it would have been no easy matter to have disappointed them ; for as the Quarrel was just, so were all Men bent to hazard the utmost in defence of it: But that on which *England* depended most was the Fleet, and indeed it is incredible how soon a mighty one was fitted out, which prov'd too strong for the *French*, and the only means to frustrate the design and undertaking ; though had not several cross Accidents happen'd, the *French* might have Landed, notwithstanding the *English* Fleet.

As soon as the *French* Fleet was ready to Sail, the King Dispatched Mr. *Charles Fleming* (Brother to the Earl of *Wigton*) to acquaint his Friends in *Scotland* thereof, and with him he sent several Copies of a Paper containing Instructions to his Subjects how they were to behave, particularly desiring them not to stir till they were sure he was Landed, and that then they should secure all the Money, Horses, Arms, and Provisions that were in the hands of such as were not well affected to him, and even their Persons if possible, and Mr. *Fleming* was to Cause provide Pilots to meet him at the Mouth of the *Firth* of *Forth* and Guide his Fleet up the same, being

resolv'd to Land on the South side thereof, at or about *Dunbar*.

*Narrative of the Voyage of Mr. Fleming.*¹

Having received an order from the king my master, on the 28th of February [N.S.], 1708, to set out for Scotland, I left St. Germain on the 29th, charged with instructions which his majesty judged necessary for the principal lords of that kingdom, and was pleased to trust me with. I left Paris the first of March, and I arrived at Dunkirk on the third, where the absence of Mr. Caron,² whom I was ordered to carry with me to conduct me, hindered my embarking till the sixth, when Mr. Arnott arrived from Paris to be transported to Scotland, with some instructions of the king my master, lest any misfortune should happen to me. Count Forbin, and M. de Guay, intendant of the marine, judged it proper to send us both off the same evening in different frigates. I went on board the *Cigale*, commanded by M. Lotton, which had formerly on two different occasions sailed from Dunkirk on the like service.

Having arrived [March 2, O.S.] within two leagues of the land, I went on board a fishing-boat that I might not be suspected, and landed at the castle of Slaines, belonging to the Earl of Errol, who received the news I brought him, after which he had sighed so long, with all the joy that might be expected from

¹ In *Colonel Hooke's Negotiations*, 151 *et seq.*

² The London edition has 'Canan.'

a man who had given all the proofs of most extraordinary zeal for the service, being greater than could be required from one less zealous than himself, he having exposed himself and his family to almost inevitable ruin by receiving into his house all envoys who had been sent to Scotland these four or five years past, the vessels which have been sent thither sailing always directly to his castle. He also furnished to all, without exception, money and horses necessary to keep up a correspondence throughout the kingdom, and even hired vessels for some persons, which has cost him large sums and greatly indebted that family.

The earl of Errol, having read the king's instructions which I put into his hands, instantly dispatched a messenger to Mr. Malcolm, a gentleman of known fidelity, and who lived very near the mouth of the frith of Edinburgh, with orders to have a boat and pilots ready to go on board the first vessel that should give the signal agreed on.¹ This Mr. Malcolm punctually executed, having been on board the *Proteus*, the only vessel that entered the frith,² for which he has been obliged to keep himself concealed ever since. The same express of the earl of Errol went afterwards, by his orders, along the coasts of Fife and Lothian, to give notice to the well-affected to have boats and pilots ready, which was so faith-

¹ For the arrival of the Chevalier and the French fleet. *Vide infra*, p. 137.

² *Vide infra*, p. 136.

fully executed by them, that many of them have been imprisoned on this account.

Upon my arrival, he also sent to the Earl Marshal, who, living at no great distance, came the same evening, when I gave him the instructions I had for him. He immediately took the necessary measures for giving notice to his friends in that country, and for going to the country of Marr, where he is hereditary great bailiff; and next day he accordingly went thither. As I was ordered to follow the measures which should be prescribed to me by the lord high constable and earl marshal, in giving notice to the chiefs of the country, and delivering to them the instructions of the king my master which I had for them, they desired me on the 4th to write to Mr. Nicolson, Catholick bishop of that kingdom, to inform him of the present state of affairs, that he might give notice to the Catholics of the north to hold themselves in readiness. I wrote likewise, by their orders, to the dutchess of Gordon upon the same subject, which she communicated to the marquis of Huntly¹ her son, who was then in the north, that he might make every thing ready in the counties of Inverness, Ross, and Lochabar, in which counties he has great interest.

I likewise gave notice to the laird of Coxtoun, who is well known to the king for his fidelity and the services which he rendered him in the late war.

¹ Alexander Gordon, fifth Marquis of Huntly and (1716) second Duke of Gordon; born 1678?; died 1728.

Having seen the Chevalier Keith and Colonel Gidun, and the earl of Errol having engaged to give notice to major-general Buchan,¹ on [March 3] I left Slains, which is in the county of Aberdeen. That shire and all those northward from it were very zealous for the interests of the king. I passed the county of Marr without stopping, as the Earl Marshal had engaged to inform them of what was necessary.

On the [5]th I arrived at lord Strathmore's in Angus, and gave him the instructions of the king. He was transported to see affairs in so great forwardness, and sent to some of the chief gentry in order to take the necessary measures at that juncture. He also sent to lord Panmure, but he was at Edinburgh on some particular business. The king is always sure of him, he having never consented to take the oaths to the present government. The same evening I arrived at lord Nairne's, in the county of Perth, who expressed great zeal for the service of the king ; and as I had a letter from the earl of Errol for him, that he might inform me of the most proper measures to see his brother the marquis of Athol, he undertook to conduct me to him. We found that lord in such a temper as we could wish. For five months before, he had all his vassals ready to take arms upon the first news of the king's arrival. He is very powerful, both in the number of his own vassals, and of others who are bound to join him. He asked of me several

¹ Thomas Buchan, died 1720. He had formerly succeeded Claverhouse in the command of the Scottish Jacobite forces.

times, and with great earnestness, the name of the general who was to command them. I found him, and all the other chiefs whom I saw, fully persuaded that it was the duke of Berwick ;¹ for they could not imagine that he could be recalled from Spain² for any other purpose, as he was a subject of his Britannic Majesty. They had conceived so great an esteem for him, that I durst not venture to tell them that he was not to be employed in the expedition ; but told them, that before his arrival at Court, that could not be determined.

Lord Nairne afterwards conducted me to lord Broadalbin's, who not only engaged to cause his vassals, who are very numerous, to join the king, but also to keep the Argyleshire men, who are looked upon as the most disaffected, so in awe that the king should meet with no opposition from them. He read the king's instructions which I gave him with great joy. From thence I went to Castle-Drummond, where I found the marquis of Drummond and his brother, sons of the duke of Perth. They received the good news that I brought them with great joy ; and the marquis immediately sent to give notice to several chiefs of the Highlanders, who have a confidence in him, to hold themselves in readiness, and took also the necessary measures to inform the other

¹ James Fitzjames, natural son of James Duke of York, afterwards James the Second, and Arabella Churchill ; born 1670 ; died 1734.

² Soon after the battle of Almanza, Berwick returned to France. —Stanhope, *History of England*, 299.

chiefs of that country. I next day went to Stirlingshire to lord Kilsyth's, who was then at Edinburgh, as was also my brother the earl of Wigtoun, who lives very near that place, tho' in another shire. The people of Stirlingshire are very unanimous for the king's service, and had united under the command of the earl of Linlithgow. On [March 11] I went to the laird of Kilmaronock's¹ in Dumbartonshire. He is very zealous in the king's interest, and sent to the earl of Dundonald² his nephew to inform him of the state of affairs. I remained here some days, expecting with impatience the news of the king's arrival, who, according to the measures taken when I left Dunkirk, was to have embarked on the 11th [N.S.]. In a few days a rumour prevailed that the king had landed in the north, which I could hardly believe ; but the report coming from every quarter, I set out for that country, and on my journey I found, that on the same report, the lairds of Keir, Touch,³ and Cardenne, with colonel Gredene, had taken the same route. I travelled two days with them ; but finding no confirmation of the news, they were obliged to separate and get home the best way they could. I continued my journey, and met with lord Nairne, who was returning from the castle of Hamilton, where he had been to speak to the dutchess dowager, the mother of the

¹ William Cochrane, younger brother of John, second Earl of Dundonald. His son Thomas succeeded as sixth Earl of Dundonald in 1725.

² John Cochrane, fourth Earl of Dundonald ; died 1720.

³ The London edition has 'Toven.'

present earl of Arran. As the Presbyterian ministers have a great influence with her, there was one in his retinue to gain over the minister of Hamilton, who has great authority with the dutchess. She appeared very zealous for the king's service; but she said she could undertake nothing in the absence of the earl her son, who was in England on his particular affairs. Tho' some blamed his being absent at that juncture, yet it is certain that he had taken all the necessary measures to receive the orders and letters that should come to Scotland for him. In effect, he received those which I brought for him, and it is believed that he would have done very considerable service to the king, by the number of horse which he would have brought from the north of England.¹

While Fleming was still preparing for his arrival in Scotland, the Chevalier, on March 6, 1708,² had set sail with a French fleet from Dunkirk. The command of the fleet was

¹ Fleming's Report on his mission, presented to Chamillart, is in *Colonel Hooke's Negotiations*, 96-104.

² According to the new style, the date was March 17. The chronology of this expedition has been given in a somewhat confused manner. Mr. Mackinnon (*History of the Union*, 394) employs new style dates throughout, and states inaccurately that the Chevalier arrived at and sailed from Dunkirk on the same day. Forbin's narrative shows that he was at Dunkirk some days before he embarked. Stanhope (*History of England*, 340) also employs new style. Hill Burton (*History of Scotland*, vol. viii. 204) gives only one date, and that is incorrect. He states March 14 as the date of the appearance of Byng's squadron in the Forth. The actual date was March 12, or March 23 N.S. In the account given in the text, as elsewhere in these pages, I have used the old style.

intrusted to the Comte de Forbin, to whom, a short time before, M. de Pontchartrain, the French Minister, had confided the information that Louis designed to despatch a force to Scotland with the Chevalier de St. George.

Mémoires du Comte de Forbin, ii. 278.¹

This information gave me considerable surprise. I knew the situation in Scotland, and realised clearly that there was no hope of success in that quarter. It is true that Queen Anne had recently brought about the union of England and Scotland under a single Parliament, and that that innovation had caused a good deal of discontent, whence it might appear that those who were opposed to the measure would not fail to rise in favour of James III. But none the less, there seemed very little prospect of a revolution in his favour. And besides, the Minister did not mention any Port [in Scotland] which was in a condition to receive us, and I could not refrain from telling him . . . that the project of invasion was entirely without grounds of encouragement; that Scotland was calm and tranquil; that not a single district had risen in Arms; that we could not count on any port where our Fleet might anchor, or where the King of England and his Troops could disembark in safety; and finally, that to land six thousand Men without an assured means of retreat was, in fact, to sacrifice them and to send them to certain destruction.

M. de Pontchartrain replied, 'You are too ready to raise objections; it should suffice you that such

¹ [Amsterdam, 1730.] I have translated the original French.

are the King's wishes. His Ministers, no doubt, are better informed than yourself. And besides, have I not already told you that the discontented [in Scotland] only await the arrival of our Fleet to declare themselves openly? Dismiss your doubts therefore, and think rather of justifying the good opinion we have of you.' 'Sir,' said I, 'I am zealous for the interests of my Master, and I cannot see him sacrificing six thousand men, who might be better employed elsewhere, without raising my voice in protest; for, if they disembark in Scotland, you may consider them, I assure you, as already lost.' . . .

The Intendant of Dunkirk, in accordance with the Instructions he had received from the Minister, had already arrived at Court. Thereupon, the *Bureaux* met, and after a consultation to which I was not admitted, arranged for the transport of the Force which they proposed to despatch to Scotland.¹

¹ The regiments ordered for service in the expedition were those of Bernay, Auxerre, Agen, Luxembourg, Beaufermé, Boulogne, and the Irish corps.—*Colonel Hooche's Negotiations*, 121. On page 122 of the same book there is the following:—

List of general officers, brigadiers and others, whom the king orders to repair to Dunkirk the 8th of this month, to execute the orders of the king of England and the count de Gassé.

Lieutenant-generals.

The marquis du Vittray.
D'Orington.
De Galmoy.
Levy.

Colonels.

Montandre.
Mony.
De Meuse.
Crecy.

Counting noses, they computed that fifteen Transports would be required, each of which could carry three hundred men. To these fifteen Transports they proposed to add five Men-of-War, each of which could convey three hundred Men. Thereby, said they, we have all that we require for our six thousand Men, and twenty Ships will suffice.

At this point, Latouche, the Chief Commissioner, to whom the secret of the expedition had been confided, suggested to the Minister, that since I was to be entrusted with the conduct of it, it was proper that I should be informed as to what had been agreed upon, in order to anticipate the difficulties which might arise in the execution of the scheme.

Thereupon, the Minister summoned me to the deliberations of the *Bureaux*. The entire scheme appeared to me so ridiculous, that forgetting to whom I was speaking, and giving the rein to my tongue,¹ I asked, '*Who is the ignoramus responsible for this arrangement?*' Somewhat astonished, the Minister enquired wherein I found it defective.

Quarter-masters general.

De Russey.

De Fitzgerald.

Brigadiers.

De Montandre.

De St. Pierre.

De Mosny.

De Hoocke.

De Fretteville, *major-general*.

Baudrezel, *intendants*,

Colonels.

Danfreville.

Beaufermé.

Gaydon, a colonel on half pay, in the retinue of Nugent.

Engineers.

Salmon, engineer, Br. 400*l.* 12*s.*

Macshihie, 150*l.* 4*s.*

A commissary of artillery.

A guard for the magazine of artillery.

¹ 'Me laissant aller à toute la vivacité d'un Provençal.'

‘In everything,’ said I; ‘for, in the first place, some allowance should have been made for the fact, that since Dunkirk lies between Holland and England, the enemy may be upon us any moment.¹ And in the second place, the Transports are cumbersome and badly constructed, and therefore quite unfit for an expedition of this sort, in which speed is essential if we are to prevent the enemy’s scouts from coming up with us. . . . What we should do is, to secure and arm the better-class Privateers at Dunkirk, and though they will carry fewer Soldiers than the Transports, we can take more of them with us. With such Vessels we shall sail much quicker, and if we encounter contrary winds, we can bring-to without drifting from our course; while, if the Enemy come up with us in superior numbers, we shall be in a better position to escape.’ The Minister paid some attention to my suggestions, and told me to arrange the details of the scheme with Latouche. . . .

On the eve of my departure for Dunkirk, I waited on the King to take my leave. ‘*M. le Comte,*’ said His Majesty, ‘*you realise the importance of your Commission; I hope that you will acquit yourself worthily in it.*’ ‘Sire,’ I answered, ‘you do me great honour; but if your Majesty would vouchsafe to me a few moments, I would venture to represent

¹ The English Government had, in fact, early information of the projected expedition, and assembled a fleet under Sir George Byng to watch the French coast.

certain matters in regard to the commission with which I am charged.' The King, whom the Minister had informed of the objections which I had already urged, replied, '*M. de Forbin, I wish you a successful voyage ; I am busy and cannot listen to you now.*'

The next day I set out, and having arrived at Dunkirk, I strove with all possible diligence to equip thirty Privateers and five Men-of-War. There were many difficulties in the way, but at length I surmounted them. To allay the curiosity of the Public, who were discussing the object of so considerable an armament, and already penetrated its secret, I gave out that MM. de Tourouvère, de Nangis, and Girardin were equipping the vessels for their own purposes.

At length everything was ready, so far, at least, as I was concerned, and we wanted only our Sailors and Soldiers in order to sail. The Soldiers arrived first.¹ I was informed that they were at St. Omer, a day's march from Dunkirk. We were still without Sailors, however ; and I feared that the arrival of six thousand Men, added to the fact that our large Flotilla lay under the very nose of the Enemy, would cause fresh speculations, the more so since the whole of France was getting wind of the project, owing to the despatch towards Dunkirk of all the English and Irish in the Kingdom.

¹ From the list of officers on p. 127 *supra*, they appear to have been ordered to repair to Dunkirk by the end of February.

To prevent such a contingency, I took with me M. Dugué, Intendant of the Port, and M. Beauharnais, Intendant of Naval Armaments, and went to the Comte de Gacé, who had been appointed to the command of the Troops and had arrived [at Dunkirk] two days before, to represent to him the inconvenience that would ensue upon the arrival of the six thousand Men before all was ready for their departure.

The Comte de Gacé agreed with me, and recognising that the Troops ought to delay their arrival until the very eve of our departure, he ordered them to remain at St. Omer in the meanwhile. A few days later our Sailors arrived; the Ships put out into the Roads; the Soldiers were summoned, and all went on board.

The King of England arrived two days after. Whether from fatigue or some other cause, the King fell ill of measles and for two days was in a fever. The delay which his illness caused to the sailing of our Fleet allowed the Enemy time to reconnoitre our position. Thirty-eight English Men-of-War anchored off Gravelines,¹ two leagues from Dunkirk. Having viewed them closely myself and made out that they were actually Men-of-War, I sent a letter to Court, pointing out that the Enemy's strength was too superior to ours to allow us to set sail under their observation; that to endeavour to do so would mean the total loss of

¹ They were commanded by Sir George Byng.

the expedition; that the Enemy, being ready to follow us, would not fail to seize the opportunity to attack us, and since we had no Port of safety in Scotland, it was obvious that they had but to attack us in order to cut off from us any part of our force they pleased; and that in my opinion we ought to dismiss our forces and postpone the expedition to a more fitting opportunity.

But everybody in Dunkirk did not agree with me. Several prattling individuals, ignorant, or perhaps with sinister motives, declared positively that the Ships we saw were only Merchantmen which had been hastily assembled and sent to sea, in the hope that haply they might prevent, or at least delay the sailing of our Fleet. They blamed me for raising difficulties, and made countless suggestions in which their interested motives were very apparent.

In answer to the Letters which I had sent to Court there came back an Order to dismiss the expedition. The grumblers raised their voices louder than ever, and as the Enemy had retired meanwhile to an anchorage in the Downs at some twelve leagues' distance from Dunkirk, expressed themselves in a tone even more disagreeable than they had already employed.

Several of those who were anxious for the departure of our Fleet wrote to Court and to the Queen of England, and made lying representations to both. These new Letters altered the decision already arrived at. The Queen was at Versailles and once

more importuned the King. He granted her request, and I received concise orders to conform myself to the wishes of the King of England and to obey him implicitly.

The Troops were still on board, and the King of England had recovered his health. A favourable wind was all that we required to set sail. We were expecting it every moment, when the Comte de Gacé, who had been promised a Marshal's Baton so soon as the King of England had started, perturbed at our many delays, and afraid lest his hopes should be destroyed or their fulfilment postponed if we did not start, caballed in order to induce the King to go on board, so that, as he said, His Majesty might be ready to sail with the first favourable breeze.

The King, influenced by these representations, summoned me to him and declared his intention of taking up his quarters on board Ship. I pointed out to him that as neither wind nor tide were favourable for our departure, it hardly appeared necessary for His Majesty to embark thus early. But I begged him to trust to me, and assured him that so soon as the opportunity arrived, whether in the day-time or at night, I would take such measures as should not delay our departure a moment.

Next day the King returned to the charge, having been pressed again upon the matter in the interval, and told me he was determined to take up his quarters on Board. This renewed attack em-

barrassed me. I told him that there was no immediate necessity for him to do so, but that it was for him to give his orders, and for me to obey, though I washed my hands of all responsibility.

From the intrigues of those who pressed the King so strongly to embark I saw, that beyond their own private interests, they were anxious to foist upon the Department of Marine the whole responsibility for the enterprise.

I was by no means blind to the jealousy which existed between the Ministers of War and Marine. The Emissaries of the former merely hastened the embarkation of the Troops in order that if the expedition proved abortive after the King and the Generals were on board, the Minister of War might be able to charge the failure to the dilatoriness of the Department of Marine, and to represent to the King, 'Sire, I have done all that devolved upon me. The Troops with their Generals have embarked, and I have punctually executed Your Majesty's Orders. If the project has not succeeded, the fault is attributable solely to the Sailors.'

To spare M. de Pontchartrain such a reproach, whose interests I still had at heart, though I was not without grounds for complaint against him, I called on the Comte de Gacé, to whom I represented how premature it was for the King to embark, seeing that Wind and Tide were not favourable. My remonstrance had but little effect upon him, and it was in vain that I pointed out the many risks

which so unwise a step might entail upon the whole Expedition. He only met my objections with vague and meaningless replies.

At length, angry at merely receiving answers which were without point or meaning, I lost patience, and said with emphasis, *Monsieur, you are anxious to induce the King of England to embark before the proper time. Be very careful what you do, and rest assured that you deceive neither the Minister of Marine nor myself. The King ought to embark only when Wind and Tide are favourable. If you persist, I must obey. But mark this, you will all certainly be drowned. As for me, I risk nothing. I can swim, and shall come to no harm.*

I hazarded this threat in the hope that it might intimidate the Comte. But his desire to pay court to the Minister of War, and the promise of a Marshal's Baton, which he had never dreamed of acquiring so soon, rendered all my efforts useless. The King of England and all the General Officers went on board,¹ and I was obliged to set sail.²

I was risking the whole expedition, since they would have it so, and was forced to anchor among the shoals.³ That very night a gale of Wind put the

¹ The Chevalier was on board Forbin's ship, the *Maroe*.—Letter of M. de Bernières of April 17 [N.S.] in *Colonel Hoocke's Negotiations*.

² On March 6, at six in the evening. The flotilla consisted of five men-of-war, two others fitted as transports, and twenty-one frigates.—*M. d'Andrezel's Account*. *Vide infra*, p. 144.

³ At a place called Newport Pitts.—*M. d'Andrezel's Account*.

whole Fleet in peril. The King, young as he was, faced the danger with a courage and coolness beyond his years ; but his suite were thoroughly frightened.

The Comte de Gacé, who had been proclaimed the previous evening on board my Ship as Marshal of France, under the title of Maréchal de Matignon, was not a bit less frightened than the English. All of them were exceedingly¹ sea-sick, and begged me to put back into the Roads.²

It gave me considerable satisfaction to see them so very unwell, having fulfilled their desire to put out to sea. *I can do nothing*, I told them, *the wine's drawn and you must drink it. Suffer, feel as uncomfortable as you please ; I'm quite content, and don't pity you at all. You have your wish. Why are you dissatisfied?*

Three of our best Ships were nearly lost ; they broke their Cables and were saved only by a miracle.³

¹ 'Jusques aux larmes.'

² The gale continued until ten o'clock at night on the 8th.—*M. d'Andrezel's Account.*

³ The three ships were, the *Proteus*, *Guerrier*, and *Barrentin*. They carried six hundred troops.—*Letter of the Maréchal de Matignon. Vide infra*, p. 145. Their loss was serious, since the whole expedition numbered only five thousand one hundred troops, and carried ten thousand muskets, one thousand pistols, and one thousand 'musketoons and carabines, without any saddles.'—*M. d'Andrezel's Account.* The *Proteus* was one of the two men-of-war fitted up as a transport. She followed the squadron on the 9th ; arrived at the Forth, in advance of Forbin, on the 12th ; and when Byng's squadron came in sight, succeeded in escaping, and returned to Dunkirk on the 20th of March. *Vide M. de Bernières' letter of March 31 [N.S.] in Colonel Hooke's Negotiations, 126 et seq.*

Two days later, the wind becoming favourable, we set sail,¹ and on the third day were off the Coast of Scotland, in sight of Land. Our Pilots had made an error of six leagues in their bearings. They altered our course, and the Wind and Tide becoming contrary, we anchored at night-fall at the mouth of the *Edinburgh* River, about three leagues from Land.²

In vain we made Signals,³ lit Fires, and fired our Cannon; nobody appeared. On the stroke of midnight I was informed that five Cannon-shot had been heard from the South. I had not taken off my

¹ At eleven o'clock at night on Monday, March 8.—M. de Bernières' letter in *loc. cit.* Before they sailed, 'after several deliberations as to the place in the North of Scotland where Mr. Hoocke wanted them to land, or the firth of Edinburgh, the latter opinion prevailed by the advice of [Lord Charles] Middleton, and the harbour of Burntisland was fixed upon for the landing place. From thence it was proposed to send a detachment to take possession of Stirling, where there is a bridge over the Forth.'—*M. d'Andrezel's Account.*

² 'After having sailed from Monday [the 8th] at [11] at night to Tuesday [the 9th] at 6 in the morning, we were forced to lie to till 10, to wait for the vessels that had fallen behind. The rest of that day and all night we proceeded with a brisk gale, when his Britannick majesty became very sick. We continued our voyage on the [10th] and [11th] but the following night, fearing lest we should pass beyond the mouth of the firth of Edinburgh, we judged proper to lie to. On Friday the [12th] we discovered the coast of Scotland; but having proceeded too far north, we were obliged to return southwards to enter the river of Edinburgh.'—*M. d'Andrezel's Account.* They anchored near the Isle of May.—*Ibid.*

³ Forbin sent a frigate up the river flying an English flag, with orders to fire five shots, the pre-arranged signal.—*M. d'Andrezel's Account.*

clothes since we sailed from Dunkirk, and rising hastily, I concluded that the five Cannon-shot must be the signal of the Enemy, who had followed our Fleet.

I proved right in my conjecture ; for at day-break [on Saturday, March 13] we discovered the English Fleet anchored at four leagues distance from us. The sight of them caused me considerable uneasiness. We were shut in in a sort of Bay, with a Cape to be doubled before we could gain the open sea.

I saw at once that considerable coolness was necessary if we were to extricate ourselves from our critical position. So, rapidly making all sail, I bore down on the Enemy as though I designed to attack him. The English ships were under sail, and seeing me manœuvre as though I was coming up to them, they put themselves in battle-order and so lost a good deal of way. Profiting by their lack of judgment, I signalled to the Fleet to clap on all sail and follow me, and changing my direction, thought only of getting away as fast as possible.

While I was thus engaged, the Englishmen on board my Ship began to murmur, complaining openly that I was running away for no reason, since the Ships we had seen were only a Danish Fleet which visited *Edinburgh* every year to take in a cargo of Coal.¹

¹ A fleet of Dutch East-Indiamen appears to have been in the Forth at the time, waiting for a convoy to proceed to Holland.—Letter of M. de Bernières, March 31 [N.S.], in *loc. cit.*

I thought it well to put a stop to these statements by a closer examination of the Enemy. I detached a swift Frigate therefore, which was sailing near me, and ordered her commander to approach as near as he could to the English Fleet, and if it proved to be a Merchant Fleet, to fire a couple of shot and bring-to, and if it was, as I surmised, the English Fleet, to fire five shots and make all sail to rejoin me.

Meanwhile, to lose no time, I was still pressing on towards the Cape, with the object of doubling it and gaining the open. The Enemy gave chase, and had I had those heavy Transports, as had been at first arranged, we must infallibly have been lost. That I succeeded in saving the Expedition was due to no other cause than, that having swift-sailing Privateers recently docked, we soon gained considerably upon our pursuers.

A single Ship of the Enemy managed to come near us, though she had to sail her hardest to do so. To avoid her I was obliged to change my course somewhat.¹ The Ship, seemingly determined to single out mine (apparently in order to have the honour of fighting the King of England), fired a broadside into M. de Tourouvre, whose ship [the *Auguste*] was following in my wake. It is almost inconceivable how much the sight of that single Vessel, some four leagues ahead of her consorts, alarmed the English on board my Ship. They gave

¹ 'Faire vent-arrière.'

themselves up for lost, and their alarm caused me considerable satisfaction.

While they were in this condition, the Frigate which I had sent to reconnoitre the enemy returned. She reported that she had counted thirty-eight Men-of-War, and among them more than ten three-deckers. 'You are joking,' said I to the Officer in a bantering tone. 'They are Merchantmen, and they come to Edinburgh every year to take in coal.'

The English, getting more and more alarmed, proposed to the King that he should go on board the Frigate which had returned from reconnoitring, and should land at a Castle on the sea-coast belonging to a Lord of whose fidelity the King was well-assured.¹

The King mentioned the proposal to me. 'Sire,' I replied, 'you are quite safe here and your Enemies can do you no harm. That Vessel which is pursuing us, to the alarm of all these Gentlemen, is not formidable, and, were Your Majesty not on Board, would soon be sent to the right-about. But I will take all necessary measures, and soon we shall be far away from all pursuit.'

The King was entirely satisfied by my assurance; but the English, whose terror increased in proportion as the Enemy drew near, importuned the King afresh, magnifying the peril in which, they said, I was placing him, and with such success that the King

¹ Possibly Slains Castle, the seat of the Earl of Erroll.

requested me to provide him a Boat in which to transfer himself to another Vessel, as had been suggested to him. Upon that I told him that there was no risk if he remained where he was. But he replied, that he wished to be obeyed and not reasoned with.

‘Sire,’ I replied, ‘Your Majesty shall at once be obeyed’; and ordered my Master-Pilot to let down a Boat to the sea. I signed to him at the same time, however, to do nothing further. Then turning to the King, ‘Sire,’ said I, ‘may I request Your Majesty to withdraw to your cabin; I have something of importance to communicate to you.’

‘What do you wish to say to me?’ said the King when we had entered his cabin.

‘Sire,’ I replied, ‘Your Majesty will readily understand, that having received most particular Orders to guard your Person, I should have been the first to propose your transferring yourself to another Vessel were I not assured that you run no risk by remaining in mine. I beg of you to have confidence in me, and to reject the bad advice which is being given you on all sides. I will act with the utmost caution, and should it be necessary for Your Majesty to transfer yourself to another Ship, I undertake to inform you at the proper time.’

The King, who had reluctantly acceded to the importunity of the English, was quite satisfied; but the whistling of Cannon-Shot so much augmented the fears of those cowards, that they returned to the

charge, and represented to the King the danger to which my rashness was exposing him, and their anxiety lest it were already too late for him to extricate himself from it. They again urged him to land at the Castle which they had named, and so successfully convinced him that no other course was open to him, that the King told me he would have the Boat prepared at once and without argument.

‘Sire,’ I answered—I am naturally hasty and impatient—‘I have already had the honour to assure Your Majesty that you are perfectly safe here. I have received orders from the King my Master to take such precautions for your safety as I should for his own, and I will never consent to Your Majesty leaving this Ship to expose yourself in a Castle far away from succour, where Your Majesty may tomorrow be delivered up to your Enemies. I am charged with your safety, and my head will answer for any harm that may befall you. I beg you, therefore, to trust me implicitly and to listen to no one else. Those who venture to give you other advice than this are either traitors or cowards.’ An English Lord, who was standing near the King, joined in. ‘Sire,’ said he, ‘M. le Comte understands his business better than we do. He answers on his head for your safety, and you must trust him.’

My firmness in refusing to allow the King to land silenced his other advisers. But observing that the Enemy’s Ship, aided by the course she had so far been keeping, was still gaining upon us, I said to the

King, 'Sire, it is now clear that that Vessel is giving her attention solely to us, since she has passed by several others of our Ships which she could have engaged. I must consider whether there is any risk to Your Majesty in remaining on board. Up to this point the Enemy has had an advantage over us in the course she has been sailing. But now she is on the same course as ourselves, and less than half-an-hour will decide. If we out-sail her there is no cause for anxiety, and we need but continue our course. But if she is the better sailer, Your Majesty will go on board that Frigate close at hand, and then, being relieved of anxiety regarding Your Majesty's person, I will accost that importunate fellow, and render good account of him within an hour. Meanwhile a Boat shall be got ready, and do you be good enough to select those whom you wish to accompany you, that they may be ready should the necessity arise.'

The King selected his Confessor, Lord Perth, the Maréchal de Matignon, and Lord Middleton.¹ I begged those Gentlemen to curb their impatience, and assured them that if His Majesty was compelled to leave the Ship, the English Ship would not long continue to cause them any anxiety.

After watching her for a few minutes, I saw that she was making little head-way, and that I had already gained upon her considerably. I communicated the news to the King. 'Sire,' I said, 'we

¹ Lord Charles Middleton, son of the Earl of Middleton.

shall shortly have left that Ship behind us, and Your Majesty can remain where you are.'

The result soon justified my opinion; for the Enemy, despairing of overtaking us, hove to, intercepted the Chevalier de Nangis [in the *Salisbury*], and attacked him. Seeing myself no longer pursued, I despatched four swift Frigates to instruct the rest of the Fleet to crowd on all sail at night-fall, and to steer East-North-East.

*M. d'Andrezel's Account.*¹

The English vessel, not finding herself a match for the *Auguste*, quitted her and attacked the *Salisbury*, which was farther behind. After an engagement, which continued from 6 in the evening till 9, the Griffin and the *Auguste* having gone to the assistance of the *Salisbury*, night separated them from us, without our being able to know any further particulars.² Our squadron was then dispersed, and we judged that the enemy had taken several of our ships, and that our only course, therefore, was to return to Dunkirk. . . .

Next day, the [14th], we were still within ten hours sail of the land of Scotland, and within six leagues of the enemy, whom we lost sight of two hours after.

¹ This narrative of the expedition, dated 'Dunkirk, April 7th, 1708, 2 in the Morning,' is in *Colonel Hooke's Negotiations*, pp. 139 *et seq.*

² The *Salisbury* struck her co'ours.—Letter to M. de Bernières, April 3 [N.S.], in *loc. cit.*

A Letter of the Maréchal de Matignon.¹

I then [on the morning of the 14th] had some discourse with Mr. Forbin, to know of him whether, as we could not land at the frith of Edinburgh, we might not attempt a landing at some other place. He proposed to me Inverness, a port in the north of Scotland, and we immediately went together and mentioned our proposal to the king of England, who received it with joy, and told us that we need only consult together about the proper means, and that he would follow what we determined upon. As we had no pilots on board who knew that harbour, the count de Forbin sent the laird of Boyn² in search of some at Buchanness. All the [14th] the wind favoured our course to the north of Scotland; but at ten at night, a contrary wind arose, which continuing very strong all next day, Mr. Forbin said that it was time to represent to the king the inconvenience of continuing that course, which would inevitably occasion the dispersion of the rest of our fleet, and the scattered ships would run a great risk either of falling into the enemy's hands, or of being run aground, in case they were pursued, and even run the hazard of wanting provisions. The impossibility of the laird of Boyn's getting on shore, and consequently of bringing us pilots, the uncertainty and risks of landing at a port

¹ This letter, dated 'Dunkirk, 7th April [N.S.], 1708,' is in *Colonel Hoocke's Negotiations*, pp. 146 *et seq.*

² He was on board the *Americain*.—M. de Bernières' letter of April 17 [N.S.], in *loc. cit.*

we were unacquainted with, and where the enemy might again surprize us, with other risks and difficulties, being represented by Mr. Forbin to the king of England, in presence of the duke of Perth, lord Middleton, Mr. Hamilton, lord Galway, and Messrs. Beauharnois and Andrezel, the king of England, with the unanimous approbation of all these gentlemen, determined to return to Dunkirk, where, on account of the calms and contrary winds, we did not arrive till to-day.¹ I am very much afflicted, Sir, not to have a better account to give you, and to have seen all our hopes blasted by such unsurmountable difficulties. I beg of you to be so good as to make the king acquainted with the excess of my grief on this occasion, and believe me to be perfectly, &c.

Upon my landing with the king, I find that the

¹ March 27. M. d'Andrezel gives the following account of the return voyage :—' These reasons, and our apprehension of wanting provisions, obliged us on the [15th] to direct our course for Dunkirk. We fell in with six Dutch vessels, which Mr. Forbin would have attacked, and judged that he would have taken, if he had not been charged with the person of the king of England and the troops and money of the king. The [16th, 17th] and [18th] we made but little way, by reason of the calms and contrary winds. The [17th] two of the frigates that had returned to Dunkirk joined the squadron, together with four armed ships. . . . On the [18th] the advice-boat, which had landed in Scotland two Scots men, rejoined the fleet, and all the news they brought was, that when they had landed the gentlemen, they were ordered to sail off. Since that time the weather has been so contrary, that all we could do was to arrive on the [27th] in the road of Dunkirk, with four vessels and five frigates. We hope the rest are arrived or will arrive forthwith in that harbour.'

Salisbury, on board of which was M. le Marquis de Levy with 400 men, is missing, and we do not yet know what has become of the three other small privateers. Mr. de Bernieres had informed you that he had landed the troops as they arrived, and had sent them into quarters, where they will need some repose. I shall immediately order on shore those that we have brought, and shall wait your orders as to the destination of them and the general officers. We were only nine ships in company when we arrived here [Dunkirk].

Probably, Sir, you would be surprised not to receive dispatches from me when Mr. de Beauharnois arrived at Court. As to this I must greatly blame Mr. de Forbin, who last night, about 11, set Mr. Beauharnois on shore off Ostend, where we anchored, without mentioning a word of it to me or lord Middleton, or to any one except the duke of Perth alone, whom he conducted into the king's apartment at 10 at night, when his majesty was a-bed. I have spoken of it this morning to the king, who appeared much surprised that I was not informed, and greatly disapproved of the proceeding of Mr. de Forbin.

Lockhart, *Memoirs*, 375.

You have heard the Reasons for the not Landing alledged by the Marishal of *Montignon* in his Letter to Mons. *Chamillard*; but these will appear too frivolous: And yet consider the Want of Resolution and Firmness that has of late appeared in the *French*

Councils, and 'tis not improbable, that having mist of the first Aim of Landing in the *Firth*, and being afraid of the *English* Fleet's falling upon them, they might be at a stand and despair of succeeding. But is it not strange they should have undertaken such an Expedition, and not reflected upon and been provided with Orders for all Accidents that might happen? and was [it] so extraordinary a Thing that they could not foresee that the *English* Fleet (which was then at Sea) might have endeavoured to prevent the Landing in the *Firth*, and yet on such an Emergency leave all to the Admiral's own Disposal! But since, as I mentioned before, the King was so pressing to have Landed on the *North*, I'm apt to believe *Fourbin* had secret Orders from his Master which he did not communicate to the King. And therefore I can't altogether condemn those who are of Opinion that the *French* King did never design the King should Land; for being fully perswaded and satisfied that the *Scots* were zealously bent to rise in Arms, he might think, that upon his Fleet's Arrival on the Coast, they'd have appeared; and having once set the Island by the Ears together, and kindled a Civil War, he might spare his Men and Money, and reserve the King in his Power to serve him on another Occasion: Else, say they, Why did he not send such a Number of Forces as was capitulated? for the Treaters demanded six or seven thousand, and others ten thousand, which was promised, and yet they were but betwixt four and five

thousand, and those none of the best ; neither was the Sum of Money, nor Quantity of Arms, and other Warlike Stores, near so great as was demanded and agreed to. And since he had been at so much Charges in equipping this Expedition, and made such a Noise of it all the World over, Why did they not Land in the *North* or *West*, where they could meet with no Opposition ! 'Tis true indeed, the *South* Side of the *Firth* was the Place advised and most proper (tho' other Places, both in the *North* and *West*, had been spoke of too), because the *North* Country was secure against any Attempts, and well inclined to serve the King ; and the Landing on the *South* Side of the *Firth* gained them *Edinburgh*, and opened a Communication betwixt the *North* and the *South*, and the *West* of *Scotland* and *North* of *England* ; but sure the difference 'twixt *West*, *South*, and *North* was not so great as, if any one failed, the whole Design was frustrated.

But not to insist further on the *French* King's secret Designs (which are all Misteries to us), this is certain, that had the *French* managed their Affairs right, they might have landed even in the *Firth*, for had they Sailed their course directly from *Newport Pits*, they might have reached it a Day sooner than they did ; but in place thereof, tho' they knew the *English* Fleet was in quest of them, and that *England* and all the World knew of their Design, stood out so far to the *North* Seas, for fear, as they since alledged, of allarming *England*, that the first sight they had of

Scotland was near Thirty Miles to the *North* of *Aberdeen*,¹ and so, tho' they had the start by near a day of S[ir] *George Bing*, yet he arriv'd in the *Firth* in a few Hours after them, and one of their Ships² which proved leaky, and was obliged to return to *Dunkirk*, and remained there two Days after they sail'd, reached the *Firth* several Hours before them; and if it was true, as I have been inform'd, that the *French* King's Orders to *Fourbin* were, That provided he could Land on any Place on the *South* of the *Firth*, rather than lose the opportunity, he allowed him to destroy his Ships and join his Seamen to the Land Forces, Why did they drop their Anchors at the Mouth of the *Firth*, and lose half a Day and a whole Night?³ For had he sail'd on, he might have reached the Windings in the Head of the *Firth* before the *English* Fleet could have come up to the *Firth*, and lain some time concealed from them, who, we saw, knew not where the *French* were, but dropped their Anchors too; but supposing the *English* had discovered them, next Day they 'd at least got so many Hours Sailing of them, that before they could have come up, their great Ships might have been unloaded, and the lesser ones run into Creeks and shallow Places (which abound there), where the *English* big Ships could not have

¹ Cf. Forbin's statement *supra*, p. 137.

² The *Proteus*. Vide p. 136 *supra*.

³ M. de Bernières in his letter of March 30 [N.S.] explains that the tide was ebbing at daybreak on the 13th, and that Forbin was compelled to wait until noon. In the interval, Byng's squadron appeared.

come at them ; lastly, it was unaccountable in them to come from *Dunkirk*, where were abundance of *Scots* Seamen who would have been glad of the occasion, and not bring a Pilot who knew the Coast with them, the loss of which they found when they arrived there, and were obliged to take in some Fishermen for that purpose off of *Mont[r]ose*. I know some have attributed their not Landing to the D[uke] of *P[ert]h*, whose Heart, they say, failed him when it came to the push ; but for my part, I cannot conceive how this Opinion or Instruction could have that weight in the managing a Matter of such Importance ; again, it has been said that the E[arl] *M[arischal]* omitted to answer the signal of a Ship which was sent by Agreement to the Coast near his House, to learn intelligence from him of the State of Affairs. 'Tis true, indeed, his Lordship failed on his part, but can it be thought that the vigorous Execution of the Project could stop on so slight a Disappointment ? Besides, Mr. *Malcolm* of *Grange* did actually go Aboard that Ship which I told you came after the *French* out of *Dunkirk* and arrived in the *Firth* before the Fleet, and informed them of all that was needful : But to leave these Speculations with this Animadversion, That the French might have Landed if they had pleased or managed their Affairs right, and that time must discover the true Reason of their not Landing, of which (by the by) none of the Court of St. *Germain*s, tho' often wrote to on this Subject, will give any return, which makes it the more Misterious.

*Narrative of the Voyage of Mr. Fleming.*¹

The king's return to Dunkirk, which was known by the public papers, threw the whole country into a consternation that cannot be expressed. I had been a witness of the good disposition of the great part of the kingdom through which I had travelled, and I was well informed of the good intentions of the rest of the nobility and gentry of the country. Never was seen so universal a joy at Edinburgh as that which appeared in everybody's countenance for three or four days before the king's arrival. The loyal subjects thronged together, and those of the government durst not appear in public. They had no confidence in the regular troops, knowing that the best part, both of the officers and soldiers, were well affected to the king. Besides, there was neither powder nor ammunition in the castle of Edinburgh, nor in that of Stirling; and they knew that all the gentry would revolt from the government the moment the king landed: So that it was believed, that on the king's arrival, those who adhered to the government would retire towards Berwick. But no sooner was it known by the gazettes that the king was returned to Dunkirk, than the consternation was so great, that every body appeared distracted. They had received orders, after the instructions that I had given them, not to take arms openly, or appear in the field till the landing of the king. The French fleet had retired without their receiving any order from the king how they

¹ In *Colonel Hoocke's Negotiations*, 156 et seq.

were to act, and they had no chief or person who could take upon him to give them orders.

Lockhart, *Memoirs*, 381.

As soon as certain Accounts of the *French* being ready to Sail came to *Edinburgh*, Mr. *John Hamilton*, Son to Mr. *Hamilton* of *Wishaw*, was dispatched to the Duke of *Hamilton*, and having reached *Ashton* in *Lancashire* in three Days, gave his Grace an Account of the joyful News, whereupon he made all things ready, and sat up three Nights expecting every Moment the other Express with the account of the King's being actually Landed, in which Case he was resolv'd with about Forty Horses to have rid Night and Day, and forced his way from the Messenger (his Grace being put in Messengers Hands upon the first account of the Invasion, by Orders of the Council of *England*) and thro' the Country till he had reached *Scotland*, which no doubt he might and would have accomplished; but alas, the first News he had was of the sad Disappointment.

It is too Melancholy a Subject to insist upon the Grief their disasterous Expedition raised in the Hearts of all true *Scots* Men; the Reader may easily conceive it was very great, since thereon depended the Nation's Freedom from Oppression and Slavery.

On the other hand, the Revolutioners [*i.e.* the Whigs] were not able to bear the good Fortune, but Triumphed over all they thought inclined towards the K—g against the Union. Immediately the Castles

of *Sterling* and *Edinburgh*, and all the Prisons in *Edinburgh*, were crammed full of Nobility and Gentry : At first, no doubt, the Government expected to have had Proof enough to have brought several of them to Punishment,¹ but failing, blessed be God, in that, the next use they made of them was to advance their Politicks ; for no sooner did any Person who was not of their Party pretend to stand a Candidate to be chosen a Parliament Man at the Elections, which were to be next Summer, but was clapped up in Prison, or threatened with it if he did not desist ; and by these means they carried, generally speaking, whom they pleased ; but to return to the Prisoners, after they had been in Custody for some Weeks, Orders came from *London* to send them up thither, which was accordingly done, being divided in three Classes, and sent up three several times, led in Triumph under a strong Guard, and exposed to the Raillery and Impertinence of the *English Mob* ; and now it appeared to what a fine Market *Scotland* had brought her Hogs, her Nobility and Gentry being led

¹ A verdict of 'not proven' was returned in the case of such as were put upon their trial for appearing in arms.—Mackinnon, *History of the Union*, 399, 400. The measures taken by the British Government, in consequence of the French expedition, included an Act empowering Justices of the Peace to tender an oath of abjuration of the Pretender to suspected persons ; the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act ; and a measure, which was not completed, to discharge the Clans from their vassalage to such of their Chiefs as should take arms against the Government.—Stanhope, *History of England*, 342.

in Chains from one end of the Island to the other, merely on account of Suspition and without any Accusation or Proof against them.

Whilst this was a doing, the Duke of *Hamilton*, being likewise brought up Prisoner to *London*, and taking Advantage of the Discords betwixt the Treasurer and the Whigs, struck up with the latter, and prevailed with them to obtain not only his, but all the other Prisoners Liberation (excepting the *Sterling-shire* Gentlemen,¹ who were sent home again to undergo their Tryal) upon their finding Bail to appear again against a certain Day (which was likewise soon remitted) and engaging to join with them (the Whigs) and their friends in *Scotland*, viz. (the Squadron) in the Election of the Peers for the Parliament of *Great Britain*, which having accordingly done, several of the Court Party were thrown out; this certainly was one of the nicest steps the Duke of *Hamilton* ever made, and had he not hit upon this favourable Juncture and managed it with great Address, I am afraid some Heads had paid for it; at best they had undergone a long Confinement, so that to his Grace alone the Thanks for that Deliverance was owing.

Having thus finished the Account I designed to give of the *Scots* Affairs, I may appositely conclude

¹ These, 'having, as they thought, receiv'd certain Intelligence that the King was Landed, mounted their Horses, and advanced in a good body towards *Edinburgh* from the Shire of *Sterling*, but being quickly inform'd of the bad News, returned home again,'
—Lockhart, *Memoirs*, 380.

with the Words of *Æneas* when he begun his Melancholy Story,

*Quis talia fando
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri Miles Ulisses,
Temperet a Lachrymis?*

and surely the Consideration of *Scotland's* present Circumstances must be grievous to any that will but take a short view of the State from which that Kingdom is fallen, and what it was before *England* Usurped such a Dominion over it.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHEVALIER IN FRANCE, 1708-1713

*Memoirs of John Duke of Melfort.*¹

I WAS ever of opinion that the last attempt [1708] on Britain in favour of the Chevalier would prove unsuccessful, and when I was call'd to Council, I urg'd many reasons, which tho' the consequence prov'd them well grounded, yet I could never get the better of a malicious censure of the world (tho' the Chevalier did not believe it), that I was not hearty in his interest. I remember very well all that I declar'd as my opinion in Council, and I don't doubt but that it now appears plainly that what I then said were not random thoughts, but duly weigh'd and considered before spoken, and that then was not the proper juncture for the Chevalier.

All Europe (not even excluding France) at that time had too good an opinion of the British Ministers to expect a Revolution. Every part of the

¹ Printed in the *Miscellany* of the Spottiswoode Society, vol. ii. 407 *et seq.* For Melfort *vide supra*, p. 115, and Mr. J. G. Alger's article upon him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Administration was manag'd with so much vigilance and precaution in that *point*, that not the least favourer of his interest durst peep abroad but they met with punishments, and their new laws were executed to the letter. England was then in perfect union at home, and made so considerable a figure abroad, that it was esteem'd the cement of the Grand Alliance [against France]. The war could not be carried on without them, and therefore all the Allies, and particularly the Dutch, knew very well it was their interest to fall in with the British Ministry, and join in all their measures to oppose the Chevalier. They could not suspect any double dealing, for the men then in power were even interested to keep him out. The Treasurer, the Chancellor, the General [the Duke of Marlborough], and in short the whole [Whig] Ministry, were his profest enemies, and had been successfully instrumental in the Revolution, obstinate in the procuring and maintaining the new succession, and in proscribing the Chevalier, so that they neither hoped nor expected any favour; but, on the contrary, they had made themselves entirely obnoxious to his interest, and by their power had so managed the inclinations of the people, that at that time no bug-bear was so frightful as the very name of the Chevalier was to the populace.

I then urg'd the unreasonableness of the undertaking, and heartily press'd the waiting for a more favourable opportunity. Things were not then ripe, the Chevalier's friends were depress'd and not able

to make a considerable party ; and tho' the French King urg'd that expedition, and buoy'd the Chevalier with success, I rather look'd on the whole matter as a French stratagem to get rid of him, or at least to divert the British arms from pursuing their advantages after the fatal taking of Lisle.¹ I know the taking of that place had very much affected his most Christian Majesty, and perhaps my too hearty zeal for the Chevalier's interest might make me express myself in warmer terms than was acceptable to his French advisers.

My advice was not then taken, but I was misrepresented. However, the success of that enterprise proved that I was in the right. And I very frankly told the Chevalier at his return that he had now quite ruin'd his affairs—that it would be impossible for his friends in Britain to be any further serviceable to him—that their secret practices would now come to light—and that it was very probable a great many might meet with punishment as traitors ; but if not, yet there would be so strict an eye kept on them for the future, that they could not be able to undertake any thing in his favour. 'The Chevalier answer'd me then very calmly—'Have patience, good my Lord, Rome was not built of a day ; you 'll yet see a turn in my favour.' I confess I then was so short-sighted as not to see the least glimmering of expectation, but I find I was then mistaken. Affairs soon

¹ Lille surrendered to Marlborough on December 9 [N.S.], 1708.—Stanhope, *History of England*, 359.

after had a new face. Doctor Sacheverel's affair¹ [1709] was concerted in the Chevalier's Council without my knowledge, nor could I ever have advised the attempting any thing of that nature. I was sensible that preaching up passive obedience, and indefeasible hereditary right, made for the interest of the Chevalier, and always advis'd those of the English clergy that were his friends frequently to inculcate these doctrines ; but I never could imagine that the Ministry, who were famed for their prudence, could easily swallow that bait, and be brought to arraign, in so solemn a manner, so insignificant a criminal. After that trial the Chevalier sent for me, and taking me into his closet, shewed me some letters giving him an account of the whole proceeding—how the populace was enrag'd against the Ministry, and that every thing was tending to a change. 'What think you now, my Lord?' said he, 'are my affairs in England ruin'd? You see I have still friends there that dare be active in my cause.' I answer'd, that I confess'd my error, and that now I plainly saw that he was in the right—that a change in the Ministry must ensue, and consequentlie a change in the Councils—that England took different measures from the French in politicks, and that a new Ministry never failed to unravel all that had been done by the old—that the Councils must now

¹ Dr. Sacheverell's famous sermons in defence of the principles of passive obedience and hereditary right voiced a reaction against the Whig Ministry. Cf. *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. 310 *et seq.*

be divided, and of course the people would be so too. He asked me then if it was not a proper time to attempt something? I told him no:—that a party openly appearing in his favour would but ruin him—that he must for some time be content to act behind the curtain—and that the divisions must be blown to a greater flame before any thing could be undertaken openly in his favour—that the present advantage was, that his friends might take hold of this occasion to skreen themselves under a party, mix in all conversations, and since the church doctrines of passive obedience and hereditary right were come in fashion, they might insinuate by degrees a favourable opinion of his right—that all the actions of the old Ministry should be censured, all their schemes exploded, so that by degrees the resentment of the people might rise against them; and if they could be made believe that they had been guilty of any errors, it would be easy to lead them to think that every thing that had been done by them was wrong. There may something too, perhaps, be expected from the new Ministers.¹ Some of your friends, under the pretence of loyalty, may get into play, and if so, one Minister will be able to bring the rest over in time to your interests; but should that fail, yet the new Ministers will find it their interest to fix their rise on their predecessors' ruin—failings will be magnify'd

¹ A Tory Ministry, headed by Harley and St. John, came into office in 1710. Cf. *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. 318.

into crimes. This will exasperate the persons turn'd out, and they and their adherents will not fail in their turns to bespatter the men then in power. A watchful eye will be kept by that party on all their actions, and any one false step will ever occasion another. Opposition of parties will so perplex their Councils, that at last, from one step to another, they will be obliged to have recourse to something desperate to extricate themselves. That's the crisis that you are to expect, and when matters are once come to that height, then you may openly avow your pretensions, appear at the head of an army, and at one brave push fix yourself.

The Chevalier told me what I said was feasible, and that he was resolved to take my advice. 'In the meantime,' says he, 'do your part; don't fail to give your friends in Scotland the necessary cue, and, above all things, take care of intelligence, that we may take our measures accordingly: Hamilton will certainly serve us; I would have you to endeavour to be well with him; I don't doubt but he'll be employ'd, and I'm certain our interest will not suffer in his hands. Write to him to-night.' I told him he should be obey'd; but that I look'd upon all my misfortunes to be owing to the misrepresentations of that Duke, and that I had suffered much on that account. 'You are mistaken,' said he: 'I am convinced that you both love me, and that nothing has occasioned a misunderstanding betwixt you but zeal for my service. He was too certain, and you too

diffident ; but that's past, I will set all right. Assure yourself I will do nothing without your advice.'

From that time nothing was done without consulting of me, and whenever any thing new occurred, we had fresh consultations for improving every thing to our best advantage. The new scene opened a very pleasing prospect to us. Every thing seem'd to tend to our advantage. Our enemies¹ fell daily in disgrace, and we were not without hopes that those that succeeded them might possibly be our friends, were it only in opposition to their predecessors. Our greatest bugbear was the continuing the General [Marlborough] still in his office. He, of all men, we wish'd laid aside ; but the time of his disgrace was not as yet come. However, we saw him every day declining in favour, and that the addresses for carrying the war, particularly in Spain, was design'd as a side-reflection that the war was mismanaged, and hitherto been carried on in the wrong place. This news was pleasing enough to the Chevalier, inasmuch as it seem'd to reflect on his greatest and most powerful enemy ; but he was apprehensive that if that counsel was followed, that readily Philip² might be driven from Spain, and that then the French King would have work enough to reinstate his grandson,

¹ The Whigs.

² Louis the Fourteenth's grandson. The late King of Spain had bequeathed to him the Spanish Monarchy. Louis's determination to support his pretensions had occasioned the War of the Spanish Succession, which was now drawing to a close.

and that his affairs might be neglected ; but I soon removed that fear, and satisfied him that the distance of place, and the difficulty of sending troops thither, must render such a project impracticable. I told him that the person who was destin'd to command there was in no ways acceptable to the Ministry ; but being too considerable to be laid aside abruptly, measures must be taken to remove him by degrees. I aid then, that I plainly saw that the quarrel between him and the Duke of Marlborough was a pure mismanagement, the more effectually to ruin them both. The Duke of Argyll, said I, does not as yet see through their design, that the making him General in Spain is but a feather to amuse him and remove him from their Councils. They know very well he will not come into their measures, and if he misses disgrace in this new commission, it will not be their fault that sent him thither.

The next thing that alarm'd us was the secret negotiations in Britain for the peace [of Utrecht] ; but we were assured that everything in that affair should be to the Chevalier's advantage. He was desir'd to take no notice of any appearance to his prejudice, but to have a little patience, and all should go well. I inconsiderately took the alarm at the articles in favour of the House of Hanover ; but when I saw the whole scheme of affairs, I was once more convinced that I was in the wrong, and that the Chevalier's affairs had then a better face than ever.

Whilst this treatie of peace was on foot, the

Chevalier was frequently in private with the French King, and constantly when he came from thence he communicated to me the subject of those private conferences, which for the most part consisted in this, that the English ministers were resolved on a peace, and that the French King's own affairs would not permit him to let slip that opportunity. The difference between the terms formerly offered and those at present was very great, and the English now were much more reasonable in their demands, so that some condescensions must be made in their favour. The French King was truly tir'd of the war, and had long, without success, endeavoured to divide the Allies. Now was the critical juncture, whilst the people of England murmured and complained of the burthen of the war, and the Ministers found they could not support themselves without a peace. A peace must be clapt up with England, *coute que coute* ; and whenever it could be fixed there, the rest of the Allies must come in of course, and take such terms as France would then give them.

By several reasons then mentioned I was brought over to be of opinion that a peace was necessary both for the French King's and the Chevalier's interest ; but I doubted very much whether it would not be more difficult to be obtained in England than they imagined. I knew the populace were generally for peace, and that their cry might influence the then House of Commons ; but the great bugbear was the Lords. We then computed the voices, and found

that the majority in that House would certainly be against a peace ; but were afterwards agreeably surprised to find that point was carried, and carried without a murmur by so bold a stroke, that we never so much as imagined that it durst be undertaken. The Chevalier was extremely pleased at the creation of the twelve Peers ;¹ and some time after, talking on that subject, he told me such a precedent hereafter might be of use to him, and that even this might be for his interest : ‘ For,’ said he, ‘ when men of low fortunes are introduced into the Nobility, they must by some means keep up their port ; this puts them in a state of dependency, and those that best support their grandeur will always be surest of their service.’

I told the Chevalier I was of that opinion, and that I did not now doubt but that every thing would go to his wish—that as soon as the peace was concluded his affairs would come upon the tapis—that in the meantime his friends should be encouraged, and the party kept warm with hopes of soon seeing him at their head—that all endeavours should be used to fix the Treasurer [Harley, Earl of Oxford] in his interest, and if that could be done the game was then sure. That statesman, said I, is a perfect labyrinth ;² there’s no finding him out ; he relies entirely on himself, and does things surprizing, with-

¹ This method was adopted by Harley, Lord Oxford, in order to secure a majority in the House of Lords.

² Cf. Lockhart's character of him, in *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. 369.

out communicating them to any till the moment of execution. These twelve Peers are a stroke of his politicks, and you will find he'll go through with every thing else. He is extreamly dextrous at managing the Commons, and has an excellent knack of bringing them over to his opinion. I would advise that nothing be left unattempted to bring him entirely to your interest ;¹ offer him anything, and if interest will not avail, perhaps revenge may. Let him be sated to the full, and give him assurances that all his enemies are yours. 'Poh, poh !' replied the Chevalier smiling, 'there is no body knows that man ; time will shew what it is he aims at. But, my Lord,' continued he, 'I have not told you that he insists that the French King should deliver up Dunkirk in possession to the English as a guarantee of his *bona fides* in the treaty ; and that after the peace is sign'd, the fortifications are to be demolished, and the harbour ruined by the French. This, I confess, alarms me, and I'm resolved the next time I see the French King to persuade him to elude, if possible, that dangerous preliminary.' I am positive, said I, that you will not prevail, for there

¹ Lockhart finds considerable encouragement to believe in Harley's good-will towards the Chevalier, both by his appointment of the Duke of Hamilton as Ambassador to France, a project which the Duke's death in 1712 prevented ; and also by the grant of pensions to several of the Highland Chiefs to support their Clans in arms for the Government, a measure which, as Lockhart remarks, 'did admit of another construction.'—*Lockhart Papers*, i. 376.

is nothing less than that article will satisfy the English. Besides, I don't think that it is of such importance to your affairs as you seem to apprehend. I know the contiguous situation of that port to England is highly advantageous ; but we are not depriv'd of that advantage by the English being put in possession. The peace will be some time concluding, and then afterwards, the demolition being to be performed by the French, that work may be carried on as slowly as the French King pleases ; delays may be invented till things are in a readiness for your once more embarquing at that port. All things in England seem to ripen in your favour ; all your enemies are in disgrace, and your friends come into play. Churchill is now no more at the head of the army ;¹ and though he is succeeded by a person on whom you cannot depend,² yet it makes thus far for your interest that your greatest and most powerful enemy is removed from his charge, and I do not doubt but in a little time you will hear that he is removed from the kingdom also. You see how the House of Commons are picking holes in his side, and if they can find any to put their fingers in they will tear him

¹ The Duke's dismissal was announced in the *Gazette* of December 31, 1711.—Stanhope, *History of England*, 507. The Report of the Commission appointed to examine into the Duke's conduct is in *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. 352 *et seq.*

² The Duke of Ormonde (*infra*, p. 178) took Marlborough's place in Flanders. Lockhart does not appear to share Melfort's fears regarding him. Some even believed that the Duke had accepted the command conditionally upon the Chevalier obtaining the Queen's favour.—*Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. 376.

without mercy. The populace are exasperated to the highest, and even his victories are represented as so many crimes against him. The battles gain'd and towns taken are now represented as so many artful baits to gull the nation of its treasure, and by prolonging the war to sacrifice his country's wealth to his avarice and ambition. The current runs in your favour; have but a little patience, and you will find that even this article of Dunkirk will not prove to your disadvantage.

The Chevalier made me no answer at that time, but some days after, coming from Versailles he sent for me, and laying his hand on my shoulder—'Melfort,' said he, 'thou art a very Matchiavel; I am now perfectly satisfied of what you said last; all will go well. Our friends in England and our cause prospers. Before Dunkirk is demolish'd you'll see strange things.' I told him I did not doubt of it; but begg'd of him that he would be particular, if he had any greater reasons for the success of his affairs than what before he was pleased to communicate. 'Yes,' said he, 'I have assurances, and such that I entirely rely on. The King assures me my interests are inseparable from his own, and that I should soon see it. He tells me the English in consequence of the treaty have, unknown to the Dutch, agreed to a cessation of arms,¹ and though they are now in

¹ Preliminary Articles of Peace were agreed upon between England and France on September 27, 1711.—Stanhope, *History of England*, 492.

the field with them, they will soon march out and abandon them. Now this will expose them to the superior force of France, and if any ill accident should happen to their army, the States will be irritated against the English, and in some measure break the strictness of the alliance, which is of the greatest consequence to my affairs. All misunderstandings betwixt England and the States make for my advantage. I would therefore advise all my friends in England to foment jealousies and widen the breach. The laying aside the late barrier treaty does me signal service. For the new one will weaken the guarantee for the succession, since a main article is, that they are not to send relief to England unless sent for. And perhaps that such a message may be prevented, if my friends continue to encrease after the rate they have done these last two years, my enemies will make but an inconsiderable party, and without any foreign help I shall be able to make a stand in case anything should happen that would require my immediate presence. Besides, after the peace I am promised that several of my friends that have suffered here with me shall go into England, under the protection of the two ambassadors of France and Spain, and there abet my cause. I like that hint very well, and have improv'd it. What do you think of sending some person there, who, under the pretence of being Resident from some Prince, should manage my affairs? His frequent converse with the men in power will give him the opportunity

of sounding their inclinations, how they stand affected to my cause. Such a person may with more confidence manage my interest, and come sooner to the point, than a subject who has the new laws in force against him,¹ and dare not open his mouth in my favour but with risque of his life.' Here he stopt, as expecting my answer; and after some little pause, I told him that what he said was very advisable, but that the difficulty lay in the choice. A foreigner would never do the business, and he had very few people about him without objections to be made against them for such a commission, that I was puzzl'd to think of a proper person. 'Why truly,' says he, 'I am as much at a loss, but what think you of ——?'

Here he mentioned three or four several persons, but as fast as he named them, he found out objections himself. But at last I chanc'd to name Sir P—k L——.² 'Ay,' says he, 'that's the man; he has courage to undertake it, and assurance to go through with the commission. He managed very well at Madrid, and I think is a Spaniard naturalized. He may go under the protection of the ambassadour of Spain, and some means may be found out to leave him in England as the Spanish Resident, whilst the

¹ *i.e.*, the measures taken after the failure of the French expedition in 1708. In the session of 1709 an Act had passed making the laws of Treason uniform throughout the United Kingdom. It was strongly opposed by the Scottish members.—*Stanhope, History of England*, 376.

² Sir Patrick Lawless.

ambassador of Spain is at the Congress ; this will certainly do. I'll send for L——.'

I had for some time before this been sick, and was still but in a bad state of health. I therefore was going to retire, when the Chevalier call'd me back :— ' Melfort,' says he, ' I am sorry that you are indispos'd at this juncture, when your counsel is so much necessary. I am afraid you'll hardly be able to go with me, and I must leave France in a few days. It will be so stipulated in the peace, and I would rather seem to go voluntarily than be compell'd to leave this country ; so that I am determin'd to go before the peace is concluded and my removal known to be one of the articles of reconciliation. Every thing is preparing for me in Lorrain, and I shall be more under cover in that retirement than here. It's true I shall be deprived by that means of personally consulting with his most Christian Majesty for the mutual benefit of our affairs ; but since your want of health won't permit you to accompany me, I can't employ a more trusty Resident than you. I would therefore have you to let me see you in a day or two, that I may give you your Instructions.'

I could not reply readily to this, I was so surpriz'd, and the Duke De Aumont coming in prevented me. I retir'd home very much disordered, still ruminating on what the Chevalier had told me. I never imagin'd that the French King would have carried it so far as to condescend to the Chevalier's removal from France. The acknowledging the new Succession was the

utmost I thought would be expected from him ; but the removal from France seem'd to me to carry the face of abandoning him entirely, and I could not guess what reasons the Chevalier had to be so well satisfy'd as he seem'd.

At that time I gave the Chevalier's interest for lost, and could hardly support myself under the uneasiness. I task'd him with credulity, and fancied that he was the dupe of France. Those thoughts confirmed me in an old opinion, that all the friendship of the Courts of France was political and interested only to serve a turn. The sacrificing of the Chevalier's pretended ¹ father's cause came fresh into my remembrance, and from thence I inferr'd a second sacrifice more horrid than the first. I concluded now that the ill posture of the King's affairs must necessarily enforce him to comply with any terms that the conquerors could propose, and frightened myself with a thousand bugbears which had no other being but in my imagination.²

The Chevalier's position at this juncture was very similar to

¹ This word has doubtless been added. Melfort's *Memoirs* were first published in 1715, shortly after his death in January of that year.

² The period covered by Melfort's *Memoirs* is treated also by Lockhart in the *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. 291 *et seq.* In addition to the circumstances dealt with by Melfort or mentioned in my notes, his pages should be consulted especially for the proposed Malt Tax in Scotland in 1712, the motion to rescind the Union shortly after, the Militia Bill and Church matters, in all of which the Scottish Members of Parliament were deeply interested.

that of his son after his return from Scotland in 1746. Then as now the British Government insisted upon the removal of the Jacobite Prince from French territory. Then as now France was powerless and disinclined to resist the demand. But while Prince Charles was forcibly expelled, the Chevalier, after some delay, retired early in 1713 from Chalons-sur-Marne, where he had resided since the previous September, to Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine.¹ There he watched the course of events in England, which were fast developing towards the renewed attempt in his favour in 1715. Meanwhile his partisans in England and Scotland were encouraged, and their apprehensions regarding his attachment to the Roman Catholic faith were allayed, by such accounts of him as the following, written by the Reverend Charles Leslie, Protestant chaplain to his household.

*A Letter from Mr. Lesly.*²

You are desirous to know the State of Affairs here, and what Observations I have made since my coming. I will give you as particular Account as I can.

And first for the Person of the Chevalier which you desire to know ; He is Tall, Streight, and clean Limb'd, Slender, yet his Bones pretty large : He has a very graceful Mien, walks fast, and his Gate has great Resemblance of his Unkle King *Charles II.* and the Lines of his Face grow dayly more and more like him. He uses exercise more for Health than Diversion, he walks Abroad, Shoots or Hunts every Day, but is not what they call a keen Sportsman. Being ask'd what he most delighted in ? He said it wou'd be to hear wise Men Discourse upon useful Subjects.

¹ Stanhope, *History of England*, 533, 541.

² *A Letter from Mr. Lesly to a Member of Parliament in London* [Lond. 1714].

He is always Chearful but seldom Merry, Thoughtful but not Dejected, and bears his Misfortunes with a visible Magnanimity of Spirit. He frequents the Publick Devotions, but there is no sort of Bigottry about him. He has a great Application to Business, spends much time in his Closet, and Writes much, which no Man does better and more succinctly. I have often admired his Criticalness in the Choice of Words. He apprehends readily, and gives the direct Answer.

He is very Affable, and has something strangely engaging in his Voice and Deportment, that none who ever convers'd with him but are charm'd with his good Sense and Sweetness of Temper. Nor can any take it ill even when he grants not their Request, for he always gives such a Reason as must satisfy. Yet he can shew Displeasure, but without Anger. He express'd no Resentment at the cruel Proceedings of the last Parliament, to leave him no Place to flee unto, but to drive him like the Scape-Goat unto a Land not Inhabited, with all the Sins of the Nation upon his Head, to perish in the most miserable manner, *Unpityed, Unrelieved*. Other Men were astonish'd, and said, for what all this Rage? What has he done? Was it a Crime to him to be Born? If his Birth was Suppositious, it was a good Reason indeed to bar his Accession to the Throne, but none to Persecute him or put a Price upon his Head, as was proposed in Parliament by a Rich and Powerful Party to encourage the Assassination of him. . . .

He has inform'd himself of past Miscarriages, and knows well the difference betwixt the Office of a *King* and a *Missionary*. He will concern himself with no Man's Religion, but is resolv'd to defend that which is legally Establish'd, and whose Principles are true to Monarchy and safe for Government, for whose satisfaction and for his own Restoration he thinks himself obliged to do every thing that is consistent with Conscience and Honour. This has been confirm'd to me by several steps to which I am Witness. In the Year 1701, about 6 Months after the King his Father's Death, he granted what I have told before for the Security of the Church of *England*. He likewise at that time endeavour'd to secure for his Protestant Servants the free Exercise of their Religion. And to do Justice to the Queen his Mother, She not only concurr'd in this, but did her self solicit it to my knowledge. But the Maxims of that Court would not admit it. Ten Years after this, in the Year 1711, he being then of Age did attempt it again himself, but could not prevail. But as soon as he came to this Country, he obtain'd it from the Generosity of the Duke of *Lorrain*, tho' the like was never done here before, where there are no Dissenters of any sort, and the People rather more zealous than in *France*. I was then sent for to officiate to the Protestants in the Family. I was very graciously received upon my Arrival, and the Chevalier admitted me even to Freedom with him, which still continues and increases. I never yet was refused access to him when I desired

it, and He of himself often sends for me, and gives me special Marks of his Favour. I would not have said so much were it not to do him Justice, and expose the vile Clamors of his Enemies, that he has no regard to Protestants, which is known to be notoriously false to all who have the Honour to attend him. He has given all the Demonstrations possible to the contrary, except parting with his Conscience and Honour, which some would have him do that they might object it against him, and represent him as unworthy to Reign for so doing ; but he will not gratify them in this.

He has caused a Room to be fitted up in his own House for a Chapel for us, and which is appropriated to that only Use, and has taken out of our Congregation his present Secretary of State and Chief Minister, who constantly Communicates with us.¹

¹ Leslie presumably refers to the Earl of Middleton. *Vide supra*, p. 59.

CHAPTER V

THE RISING OF 1715

* AFTER the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, the eyes of all England were turned with anxious and undivided attention to the chances of the Royal succession. That this could be no very distant prospect became evident from the frequent illnesses and declining strength of the Queen. A few months more, it seemed probable, would sever the last remaining link which united the posterity of Charles the First with the throne of England. Warned by her Majesty's precarious health to look forward, her ministers were much divided in their wishes ; all, indeed, professing alike their attachment to the Hanover succession, but the greater number of them secret partisans of the Pretender.'¹ The intrigues of the latter were redoubled when in July 1713 Parliament was dissolved and the elections for a new one were in progress. The new appointments at Court offered the Chevalier a Ministry seemingly in his interest in the event of his sister's death. The Earl of Mar² was appointed to the Secretaryship of State for Scotland. The Duke of Ormonde³ was made Warden of the Cinque Ports. But the sudden illness of the Queen in July 1714 precipitated a crisis, which had

¹ Lord Mahon, *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle* [Lond. 1836], vol. i. 43.

² John Erskine, sixth Earl of Mar ; born 1675 ; died 1732.

³ James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde ; born 1665 ; died 1745.



JOHN EARL OF MAR AND THOMAS LORD ERSKINE

At page 178.

indeed been foreseen, but on which the Chevalier's partisans were not prepared to act. The Whigs, on the other hand, guided by Stanhope, acted with decision. Marlborough returned to England; the Dukes of Argyll¹ and Somerset took their places in the Council; and the Queen, her last act, delivered the Treasurer's staff to the Whig Duke of Shrewsbury. The accession of George the First was followed by the complete downfall of the Party which had been endeavouring to prevent it. Bolingbroke, Ormonde, and Oxford were impeached. The first two fled to France, where the Chevalier soon after appointed Bolingbroke his Secretary of State. His energies were directed towards securing the support of France to a simultaneous rising in England and Scotland. But the death of Louis the Fourteenth in September 1715 removed one whom Bolingbroke described as 'the best friend the Chevalier had';² while the precipitate action of Mar hurried the Chevalier into action before his plans were ripe for execution.³ The Duke of Ormonde, also, at about the same time made a descent upon the coast of Devonshire, but finding no signs of a rising, returned to St. Malo. To an equal extent as in the '45, therefore, the hopes of the Stuarts were centred in the loyalty of the Scottish Clans.⁴

Rae, *History*,⁵ 187.

The Earl of *Mar*, then at *London*, not finding how to form his own Interest at Court, had resolv'd

¹ John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll; born 1680; died 1743.

² Mahon, *op. cit.* 208.

³ *Vide* Bolingbroke's letter to Mar of September 20, 1715, in Mahon, *op. cit.* App. p. xix.

⁴ For the events briefly sketched in this paragraph, *vide* chapters ii.-v. of Lord Mahon's *History*, and Lockhart's 'Commentarys' in *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. 479 *et seq.*

⁵ *The History of the late Rebellion rais'd against His Majesty King George by the Friends of the Popish Pretender*, by Peter Rae [Dumfries, 1718].

on those wicked and traiterous Measures he afterwards followed. . . . And fearing lest his traiterous Designs against his lawful Sovereign Prince, to whom he had so early and solemnly promis'd Fidelity, might possibly be discover'd, and he himself secur'd by the Government, He resolv'd to make a sudden Tower into *Scotland* as the likeliest Mean to prevent this Fate, and in Order to make some speedy Advances in this his pernicious and bloody Undertaking. Wherefore, on the *Second* of *August*, or as some say the *First*, in the Evening,¹ His Lordship, in the Dress of a private Person, embark'd with Major General *Hamilton*, Colonel *Hay*,² and two Servants on Board of a Collier in the *Thames*, and arriving in two or three Days at *Newcastle*, hir'd there a Vessel belonging to one *Spence*, which set him and his Company on Shore in the *Ely*, from whence he got over to *Creil* in the Shire of *Fife*. Soon after his Landing he was attended by Sir *Alexander Areskine*, Lord *Lyon*, and others of his Friends in *Fife*, to whom he made known the Design of his Coming, and then went forward to *Kinoul*, where he stayed on *Wednesday* the 17th, and on the 18th he passed the River *Tay*, about two Miles from *Perth*, with fourty Horse on his Way

¹ On August 1 he attended King George's levée.—Mahon, *History of England*, vol. i. 216. The deposition of his valet as to his movements is in *A Collection of Original Letters and Authentic Papers relating to the Rebellion 1715* [Edin. 1730], 17.

² John Hay, titular Earl of Inverness (cr. 1725); born 1691; died 1740.

to the *North*. Next Day he sent Letters to all the *Jacobites* round the Country, inviting them to meet him in haste at *Brae-mar*, where he arriv'd on *Saturday* the 20th of August.(*)

There's no Room to doubt that he had before hand concerted Measures with them, and that they were previously advis'd of his coming 'ere he arriv'd in *Scotland*: For on *Saturday* the 6th of *August*, their Friends at *Edinburgh* were apprized of it; and early next Morning, Captain *John Dalzel*, a half-pay Officer, who in View of this *Rebellion* had thrown up his Commission to the Earl of *Orkney*,¹ was sent out to give the Alarm to his Brother, the Earl of *Carnwath*,² then at *Elliock*, where he arriv'd that Night, and early next Morning Expresses were sent to the Earl of *Nithsdale*, the Viscount of *Kenmure*, and others of their Friends in those Parts. . . . Accordingly, in a few Days after he [Mar] arriv'd at *Brae-mar*, he was there attended by a great Number of Gentlemen of the best Quality and Interest of all his Party: And particularly at their Great Council, which was held about the 26th of *August*, there appeared the Marquis of *Huntley*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Gordon*; the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Athol*; the Earls of *Nithsdale*,

(*) Some say he went by *Dundee*; but here I have follow'd the Report of the Spies whom our Friends in those Parts had sent to observe his Motions at that Time, and whereof an Account was sent up to Court, *August 26th*.—Rae's note.

¹ George Hamilton, sixth Earl of Orkney; born 1666; died 1737.

² Robert Dalzell, sixth Earl of Carnwath; died 1737.

Mareschal,¹ *Traquair*, *Errol*, *Southesk*,² *Carnwath*, *Seaforth*,³ *Linlithgow*, and several others; the Viscounts of *Kilsyth*, *Kenmure*, *Kingston*,⁴ and *Stor-mount*; the Lords *Rollo*,⁵ *Duffus*,⁶ *Drummond*, *Strathallan*,⁷ *Ogilvie*,⁸ and *Nairn*, with a good many Gentlemen of Interest in the *Highlands*, 'mongst whom were the two Generals *Hamilton* and *Gordon*, *Glenderule*, *Auldbair*, *Auchterhouse*, *Glengary*,⁹ and others from the Clans. (f)

Having thus got his Friends together, he address'd himself to them in a publick Speech, full of Invectives against the Protestant Succession in General, and against King *George* in particular; wherein, to gloss his Actions with a seeming Reflection as of Sorrow for what was past, he told them, That tho' he had been Instrumental in forwarding the *Union* of the two Kingdoms in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, yet now his Eyes were open'd and he could see his Error, and

¹ George Keith, tenth Earl Marischal; born 1692?; died 1778.

² James Carnegie, fifth Earl of Southesk; died 1729.

³ William Mackenzie, fifth Earl of Seaforth; died 1740.

⁴ James Seton, third Viscount Kingston; died 1726?

⁵ Robert Rollo, fourth Baron Rollo of Duncrub; born 1680?; died 1758.

⁶ Kenneth Sutherland, third Baron Duffus; died 1734.

⁷ William Drummond, fourth Viscount Strathallan; born 1690; died 1746.

⁸ James Ogilvy, who, but for his attainder in 1717, would have been fourth Earl of Airlie; died 1731.

⁹ Alexander Macdonell. *Vide infra*, p. 212.

(f) This List is to be found in the *Annals*, vol. 2. p. 25. and *Compleat History of the late Rebellion* [Lond. 1716], p. 13, tho' I doubt if some of them were there.—Rae's note.

would therefore do what lay in his Power to make them again a Free People, and that they should enjoy their ancient Liberties, which were by that *cursed Union* (as he call'd it) delivered up into the Hands of the *English* . . . and to establish upon the Throne of these Realms the *Chevalier St. George* (the *Pretender*), who, he said, had the only undoubted Right to the Crown, had promis'd to hear their Grievances, and would redress their Wrongs. And hereupon excited them all to take Arms for the said *Chevalier*, whom he Stil'd King *James* the VIII., and told them, that for his own Part, he was resolv'd to set up his Standard, and to Summon all the fencible Men of his own Tenants, and with them to hazzard his Life in the Cause. He encourag'd them likewise by giving them Assurance, That there would be a general Rising in *England* on the same Account ; That they should certainly have a Powerful Assistance from *France* and from other Parts, from whence their King, as he call'd him, had already had large Supplies and Promises of more ; That Thousands were in League and Covenant with him and with one another to Rise and Depose King *George* and establish the said *Chevalier*. . . .

With these and other such Arguments, which he propos'd unto them with a Popular Air, he at length prevail'd upon them to embrace his Project. . . . However, the Noblemen and Gentlemen did not immediately after this Meeting draw together their Men, but went every Man back to his own Estate to

take their Measures for appearing in Arms when they should hear again from the Earl of *Mar*, who remain'd, in the Mean Time, in his own Country with some few Attendants only. These Noblemen and Gentlemen, being returned home, began to Draw together their Servants and Dependants in all the Places where they had Interest, making several Pretences for doing so, but did not discover the real Design till Things were in Readiness to break out. And indeed it was but a few Days after, that the Earl of *Mar* summon'd 'em all, at least such as were near [at] hand, to a general Meeting at *Aboyne* in *Aberdeenshire*, on the third of *September*, in order to concert farther Measures for their appearing in Arms. And having there directed the drawing together their Forces without any loss of Time, he return'd to *Brae-mar*, and . . . set up the *Pretender's* Standard at *Brae-mar* on the *Sixth* of *September* 1715, and there Proclaim'd him King of *Scotland, England, France, and Ireland*, etc. 'Tis reported, that when this Standard was first erected, the Ball on the Top of it fell off, which the superstitious *Highlanders* were very much concern'd at, taking it as an *Omen* of the bad Success of the Cause for which they were then appearing, and indeed the Event has proven that it was no less. Thereafter they went to a small Town named *Kirk-michael*, where, having proclaim'd the *Pretender* and Summon'd the People to attend his Standard, they stay'd some few Days, and then proceeded to

Moulin, another small Town in the Shire of *Perth*, where they likewise Proclaim'd Him, and rested some short Time, gathering their Forces, and where, by the coming in of others of their Party, their Number was considerably increas'd.

Soon after the *Pretender's* Standard was erected as above, the Heads of the Party separating for that Purpose, He was also Proclaim'd at *Aberdeen* by the Earl *Mareschal*; at *Dunkeld* by the Marquis of *Tullibardin*; at *Perth* by Colonel *Balfour* and Colonel *Hay*, after the Rebels seized that Place; at *Castle-Gordon* by the Marquis of *Huntley*; at *Brechin* by the Earl of *Panmure*; at *Montrose* by the Earl of *Southesk*; at *Dundee* by *Graham* of *Duntroon*, who was made by the *Pretender* Viscount of *Dundee*; and at *Inverness* by Brigadier *M'Intosh* at the Head of 500 Men, who, finding that important Pass without a Garrison, took Possession of it in Name of the *Pretender*, but afterwards left Sir *John M'kenzie* of *Coul* Governour of that Place, and return'd to the Rebel-Army, as we shall hear in its due Order.

In the mean Time, while the Rebels were forming their bloody Project, and not without Grounds conceived great Hopes of a powerful Assistance from *Lewis* xiv., the then *French* King, it pleased GOD by a Merciful Providence for us to remove him out of this World. (*)

(*) He . . . left his Kingdoms to his Great Grandson *Lewis*, born the 15th of *February* 1710, and was now but 5 Years and 8 Months old, and the Regency to his Nephew, *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*. — *Rae's* note.

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 31.¹

It's to be thought that the certaintie of the French King's death, which was brought us before anie act of hostilitie begun, would have disconcerted my Lord Mar, who had founded his own plan, as well as his arguments, on the assistance that was to be sent from France. . . . But his Lordship of Mar's views, being of another nature, opiniated their persisting, assuring positivelie, that to his certaine knowledge the Duke of Orleans, who, he said, was a young prince full of fire and no worse inclined to serve the King, would push that affair with more vigour than the old king, whose death was the happiest thing could happne to us.

After the meeting of Aboyn [September 3], Mar returned to Indercauld's (2) house, who, because his vassall for a small part of his estate . . . he [Mar] commanded to get the Fercharsons, his Clan, together in armes to obey his orders. This gentleman, tho' as zealous as anie, but haveing had more

¹ *Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715*, by John, Master of Sinclair [Abbotsford Club: Edin. 1858]. Sinclair's contempt for Mar was profound. I have eliminated from his narrative the more acrid portions, and such criticisms of men and events as appear either unjustified, or are the expression of a complacent belief in his own capabilities.

(2) Farquharson of Invercauld had great possessions in the head of Braemar, which, lying within the lordship so called, were held by him of the Earl of Mar, and so he was his feudal vassal. But as a chief of his own tribe, the Clan Ianla, he was of course independent of his feudal superior. Invercauld took arms afterwards, and became Colonel of a regiment of his own name, when he was taken at Preston.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

occasion to know his Lordship then others, did not amuse himself with what his Lordship said, refused to stir till the King's landing, and the meantime, being unwilling to make noise or struggle, left his house to Mar and retired to Aberdeen. He applied himself next to Inderie (1), another of his vassalls, and the second man of that Clan, who, not haveing so much to loose as the other, was disposed to rise with the first, but would have nothing to doe with Mar, in spite of the intreaties of all his friends, till the Marquise of Huntlie. to whome he offered his service, persuaded him to submit to obey my Lord Mar. . . . His Lordship haveing thus gained him, offered him the command of all his men, thinking by his means to raise the whole Clan Fercharsone; but to no purpose, for neither he [n]or his Lordship had influence enough to bringe out above a hundred, or a few more, out of Brae Mar. By this time the Earle of Linlithgow (2) and Viscount of Kilseyth (3) . . . came and joyned him [Mar]. The first of those Lords spoke a good dale of his interest, tho' it never appeared amongst us. . . . The other had no pre-

(1) John Farquharson of Inverei, descended from a younger son of Finlay Mor Farquharson of Invercauld.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

(2) James, fourth Earl of Callendar and fifth Earl of Linlithgow. He was attainted for his share in this unfortunate insurrection.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

(3) William, [second son of Sir James Livingston, raised to the Peerage as Viscount of Kilsyth in 1661. His brother James having died unmarried in the year 1706, he succeeded to the titles and estates as third Viscount of Kilsyth].—Sir Walter Scott's note.

tensions to that . . . so it may be believed his equipage was very small, and his attendants verie few to be helpfull to us, which consisted onlie of tuo servants. . . .

However, this was sounded in our ears and through the whole countrie, that tuo Peers, with great numbers, had alreadie joyned Mar; and the news of armes and officers being come was repeated on all occasions. These, and a great many as groundless reports, wrought so much on those of the east and north parts of the countie of Fife, that they sent to tell me they were goeing off. They got over the Tay, most of them at little blind ferries, and were not in all fortie. Some skult in the borders of the Highlands for some time, there being no fourage where Mar was, and a few of them joyned him. [Walkinshaw of] Barafield, a gentleman from the west, whose domestick affairs being in disorder, engaged earlier than was to be expected of a man of his sense . . . got orders to waite of the Earle of Strathmore (1), a younge gentleman of eighteen years old, who had the most good qualities and feuest vices of any younge man I ever saw: the business was to get him to proclaim the King at Dundee and Forfar . . . while Alexander Maitland (2), uncle to Southesque . . . was to push Southesque his nephew . . . to

(1) John, [third] Earl of Strathmore, a gallant young nobleman, killed at Sheriffmuir.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

(2) Son of the third Earl of Lauderdale, and brother to Mary, Countess of Southesque.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

proclaime at Montrose, another royall burrough, in the countie of Angus. . . .

In the mean time, the Marquise of Tullibardine, a modest, good-natured younge gentleman . . . with the assistance of his brothers, Lord Charles and Lord George¹ Murrays, and their uncle, Lord Nairne, was endeavouring to bring over the Athole men, who were naturallie well inclined to the cause, but were afraid of their master, the Duke of Athole, and desired that at least that regarde should be had to him, that he should be spoke to.

Mar . . . sent Lieut.-Colonell Hay, his brother-in-law, to offer him from the King the command of the armie under the Duke of Berwick, requireing of him to get his men together, and proclaime the King in thrie days. The Duke ansuered, It was strange, if the King designed him anie commission, he had not sent it directlie to himself. . . . I won't pretend to determine that the Duke of Athole would have joyned ; but I can say . . . that Mar did not treat him as a man of that consequence ought to be, and, for his own ends, did not want he should joyn ; which is proven further by his sending Collonell Hay to him, the man on earth the most unacceptable to him. . . . It's certaine, he was of that consequence that he'd [have] done more in one day in raiseing the Highlands than Mar did in tuo months, and had been master of the Bridge of Striveling before the Gouverment could [have] takne their precautions. . . .

¹ Prince Charles's General in the '45.

[Mar] being informed that Strathmore and Southesque were readie to proclaime . . . expresses were sent to all the Low Countrie about, affirming that eight thousand men had alreadie joyned my Lord Mar : upon which, Strathmore and Southesque, with the gentlemen of Angus, proclaimed in the three towns alreadie mentioned.

The more the number hookt in by these methods increased, the greater the ferment grew. . . . By their help the Earle of Panmure, who hitherto had resisted all with steadiness . . . thought he was too longe of proclaiming the King in Brechin, a royall burrough in his neighbourhood, and accordingly did it without further hesitation.

But it must be owned the Gouvernement contributed most to Mar's project, by the Act of the Brittish Parliament made at that time ;¹ which being put in execution speedilie after it past, fiftie of the most active or most considerable Lords and Gentlemen were cited, some to render themselves in fifteen days, and others in fortie, according to the distance they lived from Edinbrough, under the pain of forfeiture of their liferent escheat. All those were buoy'd up to the last day of their citations by the great pains Mar and his emissaries took to make them expect the King daylie, or, at least, the Duke of Berwick, with great secours from France : and no bodie, in that great ferment of spirits and great

¹ The *Act for Encouraging Loyalty in Scotland* received the royal assent on August 30, 1715. — Rae, *History*, 208.

expectation, careing to give bad exemple by delivering up himself first, they were at last all caught in the same noose, their time being elapsed and no place left to repent. . . . But it's certaine most were undetermined even to the last minute. . . .¹

Those of the Whig partie in the toun of Pearth kept the Tories still under, haveing disarmed them more by the authoritie of the Magistrats, who were Whigs, then by their superioritie or number, but were not a little alarmed at the report of my Lord Mar's haveing got so many men together. . . . They addressed themselves to the Duke of Athole, the onlie man of their nighbourhood who was able to assist them, or who they had the least reason to trust, and not haveing ane intire trust in him neither, or doubting his Highlandmen, I can't tell whether, they would take no more then tuo hundred. And on the other hand, they sent to the Earle of Rothes,² Sherrife and Lord Lieutenant of the countie of Fife, begging his aide with the posse-comitatus. . . . He had not been wanting before to promise them his assistance, and was at pains enough to make good his promise, and issued out ane order for all the fensible men of the Countie to meet him at a place called Cashmoor.

¹ A list of those who were summoned to Edinburgh is in Patten, *History of the Rebellion in the year 1715* [Fourth edition, Lond. 1745], 140-42.

² John Leslie or Hamilton, ninth Earl of Rothes; born 1679; died 1722.

The gentlemen took no notice of his orders, nor did the commons, except those who the ministers forced to goe to the place of rendezvous, to the number of fifteen hundred men, and all that their utmost diligence could perform. But . . . the unlucky choice of a place called moor¹ appeared ominous, and that, with the flying report of the Highlandmen's having made themselves masters of Perth, made them throw down their arms and run, notwithstanding the trouble that Rothes and his ministers gave themselves to stop them. In the meantime, the story of Perth being taken was not without foundation; for the Torie burgers, who were considerable in that place, being animated with the news of my Lord Mar's being so strong, began to cabal; and after feeling the two hundred Highlandmen's pulses, or at least their pulses who commanded them, sent to Lieutenant-Col. Hay, son to my Lord Kinnoul,² in their neighbourhood, to let him know, that if he could get any number of men together and come to their assistance, they would revolt and deliver him up the town, since there was nothing to be feared from the Highlandmen.

He assembled most of the gentlemen of the county of Fife who were skulking in Perthshire, who made the greatest part of the cavalcade, and with a very few of those of Perthshire who joined, they made up forty horse. . . . Noe sooner Collonell Hay appeared

¹ Sinclair remarks that it called up reminiscences of Tippermuir.

² Thomas Hay, sixth Earl of Kinnoul; born 1660?; died 1719.

[September 18]¹ with the fortie horse on the other side the Tay then the Torie burgers, who expected them, revolted, seised the boats in the sight of the other partie and Magistrats, who drew up under armes but durst not stir for fear of the Highlandmen, while their adversaries were bringing the gentlemen over the river, which is there about tuo hundred yards broad. The Whigs made no difficultie in delivering up their armes, which were given to the Tories, and some of them road post to Edinbrough to inform the Gouvernment; all of those, as we were told, assuring positivelie there were some thousand Highlandmen got into Pearth.

By so manie concurrent accidents did Pearth fall in the hands of our people, without his Lordship of Mar's knouledge, which if we had not got possession of, his whole designe must have proven abortive, for there was no other place where ane armie could have been formed.

Rae, *History*, 198.

In the Mean Time, while the Rebels were gathering in the *North*, a Conspiracy was form'd to surprize the Castle of *Edinburgh*,² on the *Eight* of *September* 1715, betwixt 11 and 12 at Night, by Mounting the Walls on the West side of the Castle, not far from the *Sally-Port*, by Ladders made of Ropes provided for that Purpose by Direction of the Lord *Drum-*

¹ Rae, *History*, 219.

² An account of this plot is also in Sinclair's *Memoirs*, 29-31.

mond (1), a *Papist*, which were to be pull'd up by Lines to be let down from within, and fixed to a large Piece of Wood and fasten'd with Anchors within the Castle-Wall by some Soldiers of the Garrison, whom one Mr. *Arthur*, formerly an Ensign in the Castle, and afterwards in the *Scotch-Guards*, had engag'd in this Conspiracy, by giving them Money and Promise of Preferment. The principal Traitor, *William Ainsley*, a Serjeant, who hath since been hang'd (p) for his Villany, had the Promise of a Lieutenant's Place, and *James Thomson* and *John Holland*, two single Centinels, had received, the one 8 Guinees and the other four, with a Promise of a better Reward if the Design should succeed. And it hath since appear'd by their own Confession, That the Numbers engag'd in this Attempt were about Eighty besides Officers, whereof about the one Half were *Highlanders* . . . [and] That the Lord *Drummond* was to be Governour of the Castle, as being the Contriver of the Design, and that upon the Success of it, the Conspirators were to fire three Rounds of the Artillery in the Castle, which, by the Communication of Fires to be kindled at convenient Distances, was to

(1) James, commonly called Marquis of Drummond and Lord Drummond, was eldest son to James, fourth Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland under James II., who followed his unfortunate master's fortunes into France, and was there raised to a titular dukedom. His son had the good fortune to escape to France after the Rebellion was subdued, and died there.—Sir Walter Scott's note, in Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 68.

(p) December, 1716.

be a Signal to the Earl of *Mar* immediatly to March towards *Edinburgh* with his Rebel Forces, to make themselves Masters of that important City and Castle.

This dangerous Design, tho' kept Secret among the Conspirators till but a short Time before 'twas to have taken effect, was happily prevented by the Care and Vigilance of that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Adam Cockburn* of *Ormistoun*, Lord *Justice Clerk*. 'Tis reported that Mr. *Arthur* had communicate the Matter to his Brother, Doctor *Arthur*, a Physician in *Edinburgh*, whom he had but then engag'd into the *Jacobite* Measures, and that this Gentleman having appear'd very melancholy all that Day before the Attempt was to be made, on the Thoughts of the sudden Revolution that was at hand, his Lady importun'd him till she got into the Secret, and that Evening, about ten a Clock, sent a Servant with an unsign'd Letter to my Lord *Justice Clerk*. But whether his Lordship had his Intelligence from this or some other Hand . . . so soon as he came to the Knowledge of it, he sent an Express to Lieutenant Colonel *Stuart*, Deputy Governour of the Castle: And that it was but a little before that my Lord had the Information appears in that the Gates were shut, and it was near Eleven a Clock when the Person that carry'd it came up, who, being challeng'd by the Centries, was let in when he had told 'em he had an Express for the Governour. Whether he had dropt anything of the Secret to the Port-Guard, or they had only Suspicion of some more than ordinary Danger which brought an

Express at that Hour of the Night, I know not ; however, they instantly planted their Men in three several Posts, *viz.* The *North* and *South* Flankers and the fore Wall of the Low Guard, in order to make the best Defence they could.

By this Time the Conspirators rendezvouz'd at the Foot of the Castle-Wall with all things ready for the Attempt, and *Thomson* and *Holland* were waiting to assist them within. The Governour having received the above Express, 'tis said he order'd the Officers under him to double their Guards and make diligent Rounds ; (r) but it seems that he either went to Bed, or otherwise faill'd of his Duty, and acted not vigorously enough upon this Occasion, or suitable to the Danger ; for which he was depriv'd of his Post, and, in a short Time after, committed Prisoner in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*. But to return to the Story of the Castle ; the Garrison being thus alarm'd, and as Lieutenant *Lindsey* with a Party was marching down to the *Sally-Port*, where the Attempt was design'd to be made, the above-mentioned Traitors had let down a Rope, which being fixed to the Top of one of the Ladders, they were actually pulling it up in order to fix it for the Assaliants to mount ; but observing the Approach of the Party,¹ they threw over the Ropes, and so let the Ladders fall : Upon

(r) Compleat Hist. of the *late Rebellion*, Pag. 23.

¹ 'The sentrie perceaveing the rounds comeing about, called down to them, "God damn you all ! you have ruined both yourselves and me ! Here comes the round I have been telling you of this hour, I can serve you no longer."'—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 31.

which, the Centries having heard the Noise, one of 'em fired, and the Conspirators fled and dispers'd. But a Party of the Town Guard, which, at the Request of my Lord *Justice Clerk*, the Lord Provost had sent out with Major *James Aikman* to Patrol about the Castle, coming up upon this Alarm, they found one Captain *M'lean*, formerly an Officer of King *James the Seventh*, sprawling on the Ground and bruis'd by a Fall from the Precipice, whom they secur'd, with *Alexander Ramsey* and *George Boswel*, Writers in *Edinburgh*, and one *Lesly*, formerly Page to the Dutchesse of *Gordon*. They likewise found the Ladder, with a Dozen of Firelocks and Carabines, which the Conspirators had thrown away in order to make their Escape the better.

And thus by the good Providence of God their Design was happily frustrated, which, if it had succeeded, would certainly [have] been of very ill Consequence to his Majesty's Affairs in *Scotland*: For by that Means the Rebels had not only been Masters of the Castle, the strongest Fort in the Nation, with Abundance of Arms and Ammunition to furnish those who would fight for the *Pretender*, and vast Sums of Money to pay them, but could also [have] commanded the City of *Edinburgh*, and kept a Communication betwixt their Friends in the *North* and those in the *South*. And beside, the Royal Army wou'd [have] been hereby depriv'd of Military Stores, which they afterwards found necessary to oppose this *Rebellion*.

Rae, *History*, 205.

His Majesty, having Intelligence of the Motions of the *Tories* in *Scotland*, had on or before the 19th of *August* (*u*) appointed the Lords Lieutenants for the several Shires, with Orders for raising the Militia there, and using all suitable Endeavours to preserve the publick Peace in that Part of *Great Britain*. . . .

The Regiments of the Earls of *Forfar*¹ and *Orrery*,² with that of Lieutenant General *Hill*, being recall'd from *Ireland*, were arriv'd at *Edinburgh* by the 24th of *August*; and about that Time, Orders were given to Major General *Wightman*, (*) who was then upon the Spot, forthwith to March with all the Regular Troops that could be spared; to form a Camp in the Park of *Stirling*, as well to secure that important *Castle* as the *Bridge* over *Forth*, the chief Pass by which the Rebels at that Season of the Year could pretend to penetrate into the Southern Parts of *Scotland*; and to quarter the Half-Pay Officers in such a Manner over the Country as that they might be in Readiness to Encourage, Exercise, and Command the Militia on any Emergence. The General accordingly ordered the Half-Pay Officers to their proper Posts,

(*u*) See the *London Gazette* of that Date.

¹ Archibald Douglas, second Earl of Forfar; Colonel of the 3rd Regiment of Foot (the Buffs); died 1715.

² Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery; born 1674; died 1731.

(*) General *Whetham*, then Commander in Chief in *Scotland*, having received the Orders from Court, sent General *Wightman* to mark out the Camp; and the Army encamped at *Stirling* the 29 of *August*, 1715.—Rae's note.

and went up himself to *Stirling* with a Part of these Troops, and marked out a Camp for them : And on the 28th he was follow'd by five Companies of the Earl of *Forfar's* Regiment, who were then in *Leith*, and next Day, by the Royal Regiment of *Scots* Gray-Horses, commanded by the Earl of *Portmore*,¹ and a Detachment of Lord *Shannon's*² Regiment of Foot, with two Piece of Cannon and Six Waggon's loaden with Ammunition. The Day after, General *Whetham* went thither also, and in two or three Days returned to *Edinburgh* : And in a short Time after Decamped from *Holly-Rood-house*, and the Remainder of the Lord *Shannon's* Regiment of Foot, and what other Troops he had there, march'd up to *Stirling* on the 8th of *September* to joyn the Camp. This was a just and necessary Step of the Government to prevent the Rebels securing that Post to themselves. . . . And besides, this was the most secure Scituation for the Royal Army, which was then but weak : For at first they had no more than four Regiments of Foot upon the Reduc'd Establishment, which was of 257 Men to a Regiment, and four Regiments of Dragoons, of under 200 Men to a Regiment : So that at first, the Forces posted at *Stirling* were not much above 1500 Men. This Post being secur'd, the Government immediatly apply'd it self to encrease the Forces, and order'd the Regiment of Dragoons

¹ David Colyear, first Earl of Portmore ; died 1730.

² Richard Boyle, second Viscount Shannon ; born 1675 ; died 1740.

belonging to the Earl of *Stair*,¹ with two Regiments of Foot which lay in the *North* of *England*, to march thither with all Expedition. The Regiment of Dragoons of *Evans*, with the two Regiments of Foot of *Clyton* and *Wightman*, that were gone over to *Ireland*, were likewise recall'd ; but it was a long Time after 'ere they could joyn the Camp, as we may hear in its place.

At the same Time, Letters were sent over to *Holland* to quicken the coming of the 6000 Men, which by the Treaty of Guarantee the *Dutch* were to send ; and tho' they had accordingly order'd the *Scotch* Battalions in their Service to move towards the Coasts to be in readiness to embark for *Great Britain* if occasion requir'd, and two of them were on their March from *Mastricht* to *Ipres* by the 10th of *September*, N.S. ; *But upon the repeated Assurances the French Ambassador had given them on the Part of his Court, That the French King had not the least Thoughts of breaking the Treaty of Utrecht by sending the Pretender to England, they Suspended their Naval Armament, and delay'd sending over their Forces till they were again demanded.* (x)

Rae, *History*, 218.

The Duke of *Argyle*, who before was Commander in Chief of all the Land Forces in *Scotland*, was now

¹ John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair ; born 1673 ; died 1747.

(x) See Letters from the *Hague*, 10th Sept. N.S. in the Prints.



JOHN DUKE OF ARGYLL AND GREENWICH

made General of His Majesty's Army. . . . His Grace having waited on the King on the Eight of *September* at Night to receive his final Instructions, on the Ninth he set out for *Scotland*: And was follow'd soon after by his Grace the Duke of *Roxburgh*;¹ the Marquisses of *Annandale* and *Tweeddale*;² the Earls of *Selkirk*,³ *Loudoun*,⁴ *Roths*, *Haddington*,⁵ *Hay*,⁶ and *Forfar*; the Lords *Torphihen*⁷ and *Belhaven*;⁸ Sir *David Dalrymple*, His Majesty's Advocate, Sir *William Johnston* of *Westerhall*, and others of our Nobility and Gentry who were then attending the Parliament. . . .

About the same Time, the Earl of *Sutherland* had offer'd his Service to go raise the Highland *Clans* in the most Northern Shires of *Scotland*, of which he was lately made Lord Lieutenant; his Offer was kindly accepted, and . . . His Lordship Landed at *Leith* on the 21st of *September* and . . . sail'd to the No[r]thward about four Days after. But of the

¹ John Ker, first Duke of Roxburghe; born 1680?; died 1741.

² Charles Hay, third Marquis of Tweeddale; born 1670?; died 1715.

³ Charles Douglas, second Earl of Selkirk; born 1663; died 1739.

⁴ Hugh Campbell, third Earl of Loudoun; died 1731.

⁵ Thomas Hamilton, sixth Earl of Haddington; died 1735.

⁶ Archibald Campbell, afterwards (1743) third Duke of Argyll; died 1761.

⁷ James Sandilands, seventh Baron Torphichen; died 1753.

⁸ John Hamilton, third Baron Belhaven and Stenton; died 1721.

Conduct of the Earl of *Sutherland*¹ and His Majesty's good Friends in the *North* we shall hear by it self.

His Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, attended by several Persons of Note, arriv'd at *Edinburgh* on [September] the 14th at Night. Next Day he went up to the Castle and view'd the Garrison, Fortifications, and Magazines: And . . . the Day after, his Grace set out for the Camp at *Stirling*, accompany'd by his Grace the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Earl of *Haddington*, Colonel *Middleton*, and several other Officers and Gentlemen of Distinction. Soon after he arriv'd at the Camp he review'd the Army, which did not then exceed 1840 Men, the Regiments of *Carpenter* and *Ker* included.

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 40.

In the meantime, Mar got younge Strathmore, who was very alerte, to raise tuo hundred Low Countrie men and march to Pearth with such armes as they had, all more for shew and countenance then use. Those were no sooner got into toun than all were satisfied they were stronge enough; and a report being spread of the Duke of Argyle's comeing to attack them, they resolved to stand it with the tools they had, and the few pounds of poudre they pickt up in the toun, which I don't believe were above five or six.

The Duke of Argyle . . . had gone to Striveling

¹ John Gordon, sixteenth Earl of Sutherland; born 1660?; died 1733.

some days before, where he found . . . no hopes of the possibilitie of recovering Pearth by any detachment he could make from Stirveling out of that handful he had there. . . .

All this past in a week after takeing of the toun ; and notwithstanding my Lord Mar had proclaimed some weeks before, he was not as yet in a capacitie to assist or reinforce us with any detachment, tho' they gave him out to be four or five thousand men stronge . . . and to give him his due, was doing all he could to raise the Athole-men and everie bodie else ; and by all his letters was makeing us expect him everie day with a great armie ; and order'd that no horse should come up to him, because there was no fourage. . . . At last, after all this great expectation, Struan Robertson¹ came to us with tuo hundred and fiftie Highlandmen. . . .

At this time the Earle of Southesque came to Pearth with about thirtie horse from Angus, and a hundred and fiftie Low Countrie foot. . . .

My Lord Panmure came next into toun, with a hundred Highlandmen and tuo hundred Low Countrie men. Auchterhouse, uncle to Strathmore and to the Earle of Aboyn, brought in the Aboyn men. My Lord Nairne and his son brought in their own men and some of the Duke of Athole's Highlandmen ; and now they were in all a great many men, but no such thing as order. . . . Tho' so many men were got together, there was no monie to pay them, except

¹ Alexander Robertson of Struan, thirteenth Laird ; died 1749.

what everie one gave his own people out of his private purse, which could not subsist long. I, happning to meet with Mr. Hary Maule, fell into regrateing the unluckie state we were in for want of armes, pouders, and monie. He said then very ingenuously, That never men were so idlie brought in for their lives and fortunes as we were.

But lyes, the life of our affair, were spread with more industrie than ever, of pouders, armes, and monies being sent us. Some of our gentlemen, who had thought that they had takne monie enough with them to doe their busieness, or who came out in such haste that they had no time to provide, were goeing daylie home to get new supplies. I used to tell them, to no purpose, that some of them would be kidnapt; amongst others, Sir Thomas Bruce . . . was oblidge to goe home some such errand . . . and was takne by a partie of dragoons which my Lord Rothes brought with him, and from thence was carried to Leslie House.¹ . . .

My Lord Mar begun at last to move towards us,² haveing succeeded in raiseing almost all the Athole and Tullibardine men by the means of Tullibardine, Lord Charles and Lord George Murrays, the Duke's three sons, and one hundred of the Mar-men, by the help of Inderei, for the others would take no notice of him so long as Indercale would not engage. On

¹ Rothes prevented a party of Jacobites from proclaiming the Chevalier at Kinross on September 26. He captured Bruce there.—Rae, *History*, 232.

² From Moulin, through Logie Rait and Dunkeld.—*Ibid.* 219.

his marche he was joyned by my Lord Drummond and those who followed him, who, not being Highlandmen, would not rise till the others came to force them out.¹

Generall Hamiltone came into Pearth tuo or three days before my Lord Mar, and the troopes with him, to regulate the quarters and prepare magazines of meale and forage, which seem'd needless till then, nobodie thinking of it. . . . He was not ane hour in toun when he askt for me. . . . He told me I was to be sent over to the Lothiens, with a thousand men under my command to raise those gentlemen who were for us in the southern counties, and from that to marche into England. . . . I must own I was not fond of that commission, and suspected my Lord Mar had pitched on me rather to put me out of the way then out of friendship; yet I thought I could not in honour refuse it, and if proposed to me after would have gone, provided I had seen armes, powder, and ball, without which I had flatlie denied.

From what Generall Hamiltone had told me, I formed a very bad idea of the state of our affairs, for it shewed me clearlie that my Lord Mar's system, of England's rising on the first account of our being

¹ At Logie Rait Mar's force was but one thousand well-armed men. But at Dunkeld, besides fourteen hundred of the Atholl men, he was joined 'by 500 of the Earl of *Broadalbin's* Men, commanded by *Campbel* of *Glenderule*, *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, and *John Campbel* his Chamberlain, and several others.'—Rae, *History*, 219.

up in armes, must [have] been false ; as well as his telling us that it was desired by the English that we should rise first, to draw all the troopes our way, and by that diversion untie their hands, and give them ane opportunitie of formeing into bodies ; when no sooner he had got a few of us together than he was meditateing to send a thousand of us to England, which must weakne us so much, that he'd never thought of it if he had the least hopes of England's riseing without it, since, contrarie to the pretended concert, it would rather keep the troopes in England then draw them our way. . . .

My Lord Mar comeing at last to Pearth [on September 28¹] with those he had got together in the Highlands, we were drawn out to the North Inch to receive him, and from that time did he daylie take more and more upon him to act like our Generall, and did all of himself, without consulting anie bodie, as if he had been another Moses, meek and spotless, and without a blemish, sent from Heaven with a divine commission to relieve us miserable wretches out of bondage : so mean an opinion had he of all of us present, and so great was ours to be of him, that ' Illi summum rerum judicium a Deo datum : nobis sola obsequii gloria relictæ videretur.' (Tacit.)

Rae, *History*, 221.

'Tis not to be forgot, That the very same Day the Earl of *Mar* came to *Perth*, Mr. *James Murray*,

¹ Rae, *History*, 219.

second Son to the Viscount of *Stormont* (who, in the Month of *April* before, had gone over to the *Pretender*) arriv'd *incognito* at *Edinburgh* from *France*, by way of *England*, and crossing the *Firth* at *Newhaven* above *Leith*, he got over to *Fife*, and thence to the Camp at *Perth*. His Arrival gave another Occasion of great Rejoicings among the Rebels: For having deliver'd to the Earl of *Mar* the Letters he had brought him from the *Pretender*, and produc'd such Authorities as made it appear that he himself was appointed Secretary of State for the Affairs of *Scotland*, He gave them Assurances of a speedy and powerful Assistance from *France*, and of their pretended King's Resolution to come to them in Person.(*). And indeed, if the *Pretender's* Affairs Abroad had continued in the same flourishing Condition as when Mr. *Murray* left the Court of St. *Germain's*, 'tis probable the Rebels here might quickly have seen the Performance of these Assurances.

For about that Time, the *Pretender's* Friends had procur'd him no less than Twelve large Ships of War, with several Frigats of good Force, and were openly loading on them vast Quantities of Ammunition, small Arms, a Train of Artillery, Mortars,

(*) It was also reported that he brought from the *Pretender* a Patent, creating the Earl of *Mar* a Duke, by the Stile of the Duke of *Mar*, Marquis of *Stirling*, and Earl of *Alloway*: And tho' there was little more said about it, yet the Relation seems justify'd by this, That in some of the Papers Printed at *Perth*, he is Stil'd the *Duke of Mar*.—Rae's note.

Shells, Bullets, with Generals, Officers, Soldiers, and Volunteers in Abundance, in the Ports of *Havre de Grace*, *St. Maloes*, and other Places on the Coasts of *France*.

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 72.

But to return to Pearth. His Lordship [of Mar] was not longe there when the Highlandmen begun to mutinie for want of pay. . . . Southesque gave five hundred pound to help to supplie the present wants with great frankness, and Panmure followed his exemple and gave as much. A Councill of Finance was instantlie establisht to fall on ways and means to raise monie, and it was determined to levie eight months cess in these Low-Countrie counties we were masters of. . . . Mr. Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray (1), was made thresaurer, and a committee was establisht for providing the armie with fourage and meale. Tho' orders were given out to form into regiments, everie one did as they pleased. My Lord Drummond, who had got six hundred men together under his name, tho' a great part of them belonged to Lord Strothallan, (2) Logie, (3) and his other neighbours . . .

(1) He was fourth son of Alexander, sixth Earl of Moray, and, by the death of his brothers, succeeded to the dignity himself in 1736, and carried on the line of the family.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

(2) William Drummond, fourth Viscount of Strathallan. He was killed at the Battle of Culloden, 1746.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

(3) Drummond of Logie-Almond.

formed them in three battalions, contrarie to everie bodies advice, who told him they 'd make one good, but could not make three. . . .

My Lord Drummond was not now content to be a great prince at home, but must come into a forraigne service and be made Liutennant-Generall of the Horse, which was the command of the whole gentlemen ; whether it was that he was the man of the best familie, or because of his distinguisht prudence, for he had ane equall pretension to both, I can't tell. . . . Houever . . . Will Drummond . . . brought alonge with him [from France] the King's commission to my Lord Drummond to command the horse. . . .

Tho' we were onlie four squadrons of horse in Pearth, we could not agree about the post of honour, and in this, as well as in all other things in the whole course of our affair, it would appear that those who had the least title to any thing expected most. All the others took it ill that Linlithgow, whose squadrone was weak and mostlie composed of Stirveling-shire gentlemen, which was the youngest countie, should carrie the Royall Standard. . . . Fife and Pearthshire differ'd in their ranking ; for tho' it was advanced Fife gave the first vote in all the Scots Parliaments after the Peers, yet Perthshire had always protested against it. . . .

My Lord Tullibardine, Lord Charles and Lord George Murrays formed each of them regiments out of the Athole men and those of Tullibardine, as did

their uncle, Lord Nairne, some stronger, and some weaker, as they could get those men to follow them. My Lord Ogilvie, son to the Earle of Earlie, a very younge gentleman, and representative of a verie noble familie, and who was said to be of the first who was engaged, formed a regiment out of the Killiemure and Glenprossen men, and made Sir James Kinloch (1), who joyn'd him with his following, his Lieut.-Collonell. Steuart of Indernitie (2) did the same with the Garntillie men who followed him. We of the horse were order'd to divide each squadrone in three companies, and name our officers for each company. . . . As to the Captains, Liutenants, and Cornets, after tuo day's dispute we at last named them, tho' I can't say to everie bodies satisfaction. . . . [For] Southesque had Strathmore to compeat with him for the command of the gentlemen of Angus. My Lord Rollo and Collonell Hay, who, supported by my Lord Mar because his brother-in-law, brought it tuice to a vote of the gentlemen of the Pearthshire squadrone which of

(1) Sir James Kinloch of that Ilk, in Perthshire. His father, Sir David Kinloch, was created a Baronet by James II. He died 1744.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

(2) John Stewart of Invernitie, descended from a cadet of the family of Stewart of Grandtully. The instance in the text is one amongst many of the policy exercised by the more prudent Jacobites in these uncertain times. The Chief or Representative of a great family staid at home and professed submission, while it often happened that some cadet or younger brother possessed influence enough to bring out his followers and clan. Thus *lands and tenements* committed no treason.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

them should command, and [Hay] lost it as oftne, in spite of Mar's influence. Linlithgow would [have] had as little to keep him in countenance as a great many other Lords whose names I need not mention, if Mar had not given him the Royal Standard (1), which brought him a command out of all sorts of people, and made up but a weak squadrone at best. In my command of the Fife gentlemen I had no rivall, even tho' I made my court to Mar first and last but very ill, by telling my opinion of him very plainlie; nor was it in his pouer to stir up a rivall against me, even tho' he gave a commission of Collonell to Major Balfour, a gentleman under my command, tuo months before any other publick commission was given. . . .

While everie one was building castles in the air, and makeing themselves great men, most of our armes were good for nothing; there was no methode fallne on, nor was the least care takne to repair those old rustie brokne piceis, which, it seems, were to be carried about more for ornament than use, tho' gunsmiths were not wanting; but this was either because he who took upon him the command expected no powder from the beginning, or because what was everie bodies business was no bodies.

The noise of the Duke of Berwick's landing did

(1) It was carried by Edmonston of Newton, exiled for aiding and abetting Graham of Inchbraco in the slaughter of John, Master of Rollo, 8th May 1691.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

now decrease daylie, as if there were no more need of him, my Lord Mar being now fixt. . . .

My Lord Mar's great and onlie business was now to put Huntlie, Marishall, and Seaforth in mind of their promises, and press them . . . to joyn him with all speed; the same care was takne of the Clans, as they then begun to call them, Clan Ronald, Glengarie (1), Lochiell (2), and Steuart of Apin; who got their orders to marche into Argyleshire, under the command of General Gordone, to disarm the one half of the Duke of Argyle's following, and bring off the other, who, it was said, were willing to joyn us. Tho' none of all those were at that time stirring, yea, some did not move for some months afterwards, we were made believe, day after day, that those who were to joyn us were at hand, and that the others were on their marche back from Argyleshire towards us, haveing succeeded. . . .

Mar, after comeing into Pearth, did nothing all this while but write; and, as if all had depended on

(1) Alexander Macdonell, Baron of Glengary, called the Black. He made a great figure in that stormy period, and carried the Royal Standard at the Battle of Killiecrankie. He died in 1724.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

(2) John Cameron of Lochiel, son of the renowned Sir Evan Dhu, of whom tradition records such extraordinary [feats]. Sir Evan was still alive in the 1715, but incapable, from his great age, of taking the field. Donald Cameron of Lochiel, son of John, and grandson of Sir Evan, united all the accomplishments of a gentleman and scholar with the courage and high spirit of a Highland Chief. He is the hero of Thomas Campbell's poem entitled 'Lochiel.'—Sir Walter Scott's note.

his writeing, nobodie moved in any one thing ; there was not a word spoke of fortifieing the town, nor the least care takne of sending for pouder to any place ; we did not want gunsmiths, and yet none of them was imployed in mending our old armes. Whoever spoke of those things, which I did oftne, was giveing himself airs ; for we lived very well, and as longe as meat, drink, and monie was not wanting, what was the need of anie more ; most of us were goeing home everie day for our diversion, and to get a fresh supplie of the readie. In that we folloued strictlie the rule of the gospell, for we never thought of to-morrow. If it escaped any extravagant fellow to say that more troops were comeing to joyn the Duke of Argyle from England or Ireland, he was lookt on as a visionare ; or if any seemed to think that these few troops he had would fight, there was no doubt he was a couard and despair'd of our success ; which, I'm shure, they could not [have] been so positive of in their circumstances but by believing no bodie would fight against them, which they said confidentlie ; but so soon as men have nothing reasonable to trust to, they seldom faile to please themselves with phantoms, and a drouning man catches hold of everie straw.

Of manie of those Lords and Chiefs of Clans who had first engaged so franklie at Aboyne, few seemed as yet to remember their promise, except Glengarie, who, it's hard to say whither he has more of the bear, the lyon, or the fox in him, for he is at least as ruff

and cunning as he's bold, finding his nighbours backward, to encourage them, got his men together, and marched into the Braes of Glenorchie, where he continued eight days before any bodie joyned him. Captain of Clanronald and Sir John M'Lean¹ were the nixt who raised their men; for Locheill and Stuart of Apine would by no means marche into Argyleshire; no more would those who my Lord Bredalbaine had promised, I believe not being as yet determined to rise, nor being willing to disoblidge the Duke of Argyle; houeever, they pretended they'd doe any thing but be imployed that way, and continued at home, while Generall Gordon marched on to execute his orders. How little he did there, and how much time they loosed, being fooled by my Lord Isla, I shall tell you in the proper place.²

Rae, *History*, 223.

We shall now leave the Rebels gathering at *Perth* and give some further Account of the Royal Army. . . . The Duke of *Argyle* when he arrived at *Edinburgh*, being advis'd of the great Disproportion between the Regular Troops and the Rebels' Army . . . sent [a] Letter to the City of *Glasgow*. . . . In Compliance therewith, the Loyal City sent three Battalions of their best Men, well arm'd, from *Glasgow* to *Stirling*: The *First* upon the 17th, the

¹ Fourth Baronet; succeeded to the dignity in 1674, and fought at Killiecrankie.

² For the proceedings of this force, *vide infra*, p. 242.

Second upon the 18th, and the *Third* upon the 19th of *September* . . . having prevail'd with the honourable Colonel *Blackader*¹ to accept of the Office of Colonel in Conjunction with the Lord Provost. . . .

Expresses were sent to all the well-affected Gentlemen and People in the *West* and other adjacent Places to signify to them, That *His Grace* [of Argyll] *thought it absolutely necessary for His Majesty's Service that all their fencible Men should assemble in Arms at Glasgow.* To which Place they flocked accordingly in a few Days after, in great Numbers (*), well arm'd and accoutred, ready to march as his Grace should direct them. . . .

The Earl of *Ilay* . . . had been all this while exerting his Vigilance to the utmost at *Edinburgh*, in Dispersing and Seizing all he could meet with that were known to be disaffected to his Majesty's Person and Government, and but some short Time before this, had the good Fortune to baffle an Attempt that was made by about 200 armed *Jacobites* to Seize the Town Guard and put the City in Confusion, by getting hold of *Burnet* of *Carlops* and some others of the Ring-leaders at the Place of Rendezvouze but a few Hours before the Plot was to be put in Execution: And now his Lordship was sent to *Argyle-shire* to

¹ Cf. *The Life and Diary of Lieut.-Col. J. Blackader*, by Andrew Crichton [Edin. 1824], chap. xix., for the Colonel's account of his service with this regiment.

(*) For instance; *Hamilton*, tho' but a small Town, sent 70 Volunteers to *Glasgow*. . . . And *Strevan* sent 60. . . . And other Towns Proportionally.—Rae's note.

assemble the Vassals of his Brother the Duke of *Argyle*, and the other well-affected People in those Parts for His Majesty's Service, to prevent the rising of the Rebels in the *West-Highlands*, and secure the Town of *Inverary*: For which End, Colonel *Alexander Campbel* of *Finah* had been sent thither some few Weeks before.

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 95.

It was about this time that we sent out our first command [from Perth] to sieze the armes at Bruntisland. But before I goe further, I must take leave to tell, that ane old friend of mine and my familie's, with whome we had longe dealing, being a merchant, called me out to the South Inch of Pearth by six of the clock of a Sunday morning [October 2¹]. . . . He told me, He had rid the whole night to let me know that there was a small ship in the harbour of Bruntisland, loaded with armes and ammunition for the Earle of Sutherland.² I ask't him, If he knew any thing of the number? He said, They were at least three thousand. It's easie to judge I was transported with the news, tho' . . . not being altogether so well with my Lord Mar, was at a loss how to behave in it. But on second thoughts, [I]

¹ Rae, *History*, 234.

² The arms had been despatched from Edinburgh Castle for the Earl's use in the North of Scotland. The master of the vessel put into Burntisland to see his wife and family there.—*Ibid.* 234.

resolved to goe straight to him. . . . I found him in bed, and told him my storie, and at same time gave him the caracter of my friend. . . . I went after that to Hardie's¹ without anie conclusion; and a little after my friend went away, I was sent for by my Lord Mar about eleven of the clock. He askt me, How I would bring off those armes in case I were commanded? I said, I knew no other way than that which I had told him alreadie; onlie added, that what armes were to be brought alonge must be done by the baggage-horse of the armie . . . and whoever went must marche out by five in the evening, to make sure of the ship before she could get out of the harbour; and, above all, the ports were to be all shut before four to hinder intelligence, and before any bodie was commanded or the marche spoke of. Mar said, I was in the right, and without saying more I went to dine.

Ane hour after, I was called for again, and ane order was given me in writeing. . . . I had almost forgot to tell that he who brought the information had told, it was absolutelie necessarie we should be at Bruntisland by twelve of the clock at night at furthest if we dessigned to succeed, that being the time of full sea, and the ship being to saile that tide. I told my Lord Mar, We might run some risque in the back-comeing, since we were to pass within ten miles of Stirveling, both in goeing and comeing back, and that we might loose so much time at Bruntisland

¹ A vintner in Perth.

as [would] give the dragoons . . . time to cut us off, since we were not to be above fourscore horse . . . and [I] put him in mind of a hundred foot being necessarie to be left in the Castle of Bruntisland, to take care of those armes we left, in case we could not bring all off. This he went into against his will, and said, He'd send five hundred foot after us, and post Indernitie at Kinross. Accordingly I set out by five of the clock with fourscore horse. . . . We seized severall small boats the minute we came into toun [Burntisland], and after placeing a few sentries about the toun . . . we forced some toun's men to goe alonge with ours to bringe in the ship, which was seized with no difficultie; but the wind being contrarie, it was hard enough to get the ship brought into the harbour. . . . At last, those boats brought in the ship by maine force against the contrarie wind, and those aboard of ours, being seamen, did their dutie very well. I . . . receaved all the armes from the ship's side, and found, to my great grief, but three hundred, wanting one; we found a bag of flints and tuo little barrels of ball, and tuo or three barrels of powder, about a hundred pound each, and some cartridge boxes. . . . We seized the armes of a big ship which lay in the harbour, which were about tuentie-five firelocks, and with them a barrell of powder, and at sametime, the armes of the Toun Guardie, about thirtie. . . . We got back to Pearth before five of the clock, and marched nere to fourtie Scots miles in tuentie-four hours.

Rae, *History*, 234.

As the Seizing this Ship and Arms gave some Reputation to the Earl of *Mar*, so their Success in that Undertaking encourag'd the Rebels to invade the Province of *Fife*, which they did not many Days after, with a Detachment of 4000 Men in several Bodies, who, ranging over the Country, Seiz'd all the Arms they could find, to make some Amends for the Disappointment of those they expected from *France*, which were stop'd . . . at *Havre de Grace*. They likewise took Possession of the Towns of *Kirkcaldy*, *Kinghorn*, *Brunt-Island*, *Dysart*, *Weemse*, and several other Towns, and so became Masters of the whole North Shore of the *Firth* of *Leith* in Sight of the City of *Edinburgh*. . . .

The Earl of *Rothes* being now at *Lesly* with some other Noblemen and Gentlemen . . . in Danger of being surrounded by the Rebels, the Duke of *Argyle* sent a Detachment of Horse and Foot. . . . But the Rebels encreasing in that County, thro' the Addition of many more Troops, they were all oblig'd to quit *Lesly* and return to *Stirling*, leaving *Fife* entirely in the Hands of the Rebels. . . .

The Rebels were now Masters of all the *Eastern* Coasts of *Scotland*, from *Brunt-Island* to *Murray Firth*, which extends to above 160 Miles on the Shore: And on the *West* side, the Isle of *Sky*, the *Lewse*, and all the *Hebrides* were their own; being the Estates, generally speaking, of the Earl of

Seaforth, Sir *Donald M'donald*,¹ and others of the *Clans* who were in their Interest : So that from the Mouth of the Water of *Lochie* to *Faro* Head, all the Coast of *Locquhaber* and *Ross*, ev'n to the North West Point of *Britain*, was in their Possession. In a Word, they were possess'd of all that Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland* which lies on the North-side of the River *Forth* ; excepting the remote Counties of *Caithness*, *Strathnaver*, and *Sutherland*, beyond *Inverness*, And that Part of *Argileshire* which runs North-west into *Lorn* and up to *Locquhaber*, where *Fort-William* continued in the Possession of his Majesty's Troops. . . .

In the mean Time, the *Northern Clans* were upon their March to join the Earl of *Mar* : And on the 5th of *October* the Laird of *Macintosh*, who is Chief of a numerous Clan of that Name in the Shire of *Inverness*, arrived at *Perth* with 500 stout Men well arm'd.² As Brigadier *M'Intosh* of *Borlam* had perswaded his Chief and his Men . . . to engage in those pernicious and Rebellious Measures, So he plac'd himself at their Head and form'd them into a Regiment, which was reckon'd the best the Earl of *Mar* had. On the 6th he was join'd by the Marquis of *Huntley* with 500 Horse and 2000 Foot, And next day, by the Earl *Marischal* with 300

¹ Of Sleat. . . . Chief of that part of the Sept [Macdonald] who acknowledge descent from Donald Gorme.—Sir Walter Scott's note, in Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 193.

² Farquharson of Invercauld arrived with him.—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 103.

Horse and 500 Foot:¹ But the Earl of *Seaforth* was yet left behind for fear of the Earl of *Sutherland's* Invading his Country, but soon after attended the *Pretender's* Standard at *Perth* with 800 Horse and 3000 Foot. By this Time their Army amounted to 12600 Men, and being afterwards join'd by General *Gordon* and the *Western Clans*, to the Number of 100 Horse and 4000 Foot, but a short Time before the Battle, made in all 16700 Men.² This was the whole Strength of their Army, and these, except about 3000 which were in Garrisons dispers'd, and the Detachment [under Mackintosh of Borlum] that went to the *South*, were all in a Body at the Battle of *Dumblain* or *Sheriff-Muir*, of which we will hear in its Place.

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 104.

It was now thought the proper time to put the designed project of passing the Frith in execution. Generall Hamiltone haveing told my Lord Mar of his communicateing that secret to me,³ his Lordship was pleased to send for me, and askt before

¹ Sinclair asserts that those whom the Earl brought to Perth 'were not then fourscore,' and that they were very badly mounted. Huntly, he says, brought one hundred and sixty horse and fourteen hundred foot. The dates of their arrival at Perth he gives as, the Earl Marischal on October 8; Huntly on October 9.—*Memoirs*, 123, 157, 158.

² This total is certainly much in excess of the actual numbers. Sinclair gives Mar six thousand foot and about six hundred horse after Huntly's arrival on October 9.—*Memoirs*, 157.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 205.

Generall Hamilton and Mr. Malcome, who were the onlie present, What number of boats I thought could be got together on the coast, and in what places? I said . . . all I could tell him was, That what boats were of use were to be found from Wemyss to Creile, in the touns and villages all alonge that coast; that there was a great many of them, but could not tell their number. . . . Then he begun to speak of haveing all those boats sent up to Bruntisland, where, on my haveing formerlie told him the castle was stronge, he had put a guarrisone to keep our communication with the countie and coast of Fife. I told his Lordship, He was to consider that bringing all those boats together to Bruntisland was a double mouvement, and that the men-of-war, who were in station all over the Frith, would see them and bear up to them, as they did to the least small boat alone; besides . . . tho' there were no men-of-war in the case, their very goeing off from Bruntisland would have a bad effect, for after haveing alarm'd the Duke of Argyle with the first mouvement of bringing the boats there, it would give him time to take his precautions. . . .

I took freedom to ask his Lordship, Where he designed they should land on the other side, in case he proposed some advantage by their goeing off from Bruntisland which was not to be got from another porte? He said, They were to land on the Lothien coast, at any place to which they found the wind fairest, and then either marche to Haddintoun or

the Cittadell of Leith. I said, They might doe the same from the place where the boats lay then . . . [and] in the end told his Lordship That I was no sailer, but I doubted of the whole project. . . . Mar said I was to goe in a day or tuo on command to Fife. . . .

In that time he made Mackintosh with his Clan and the Fercharson's, my Lord Nairne and Lord Charles Murray with the Athole men, Earle of Strathmore with his regiment of Low Countriemen, and Logie Drummond with my Lord Drummond's men and his own, defilée by Kinross, corp after corp, to Bruntisland, to the number of tuo thousand tuo hundred. When he had thus disposed things, he called me, and gave me [my] orders¹ under his hand and seale [dated October 5]. . . .

I marched straight to Couper, where that night [October 6] I proclaim'd the King. . . . After comeing to Couper I had given out that I was to goe back to Pearth by Dundee; and . . . to make that take the better, I ridd half a mile towards Dundee, and falling in after into the St. Andrews road, got there by break of day, and took some few horses on the road or near it.

So soon as we got there we proclaimed, and at

¹ Sinclair's orders were, to collect arms and money and to proclaim the Chevalier in Cupar and in the coast towns of Fife, from St. Andrews to Dysart, and thence to return to Perth. Apart from his written instructions, his expedition was designed to prepare for and support Mackintosh's passage of the Forth.

the same time searched all the suspected houses for armes and horses. We succeeded as ill there as at Couper, and got onlie a few broken rustie muskets. And . . . haveing severall touns to proclaim in, I thought it was a little too earlie to refresh there, for the King's health must be drunk in everie one of them, otherwise the ceremonie was null and voide.

We marched from that to Creile, and . . . came to Creile [October 7] before tuelve, and proclaimed the King that moment ; the few rustie armes of that poor honest toun were delivered with no pain. . . . Before I marched from Creile I askt Hary Craufurd if he could get as many boats as could transport tuo thousand men over the Frith ; and how soon they could be got ; and how he thought that project would succeed, in case the men-of-war should get the least hint or fall in with them ? He said, The project would doe, and he did not doubt but as many boats could be got, but that it would take at least three days to get all readie. He desired more time to think of it, and said he'd come that night to Pittenweem, where we were to be, and speak further about it. . . .

I marched from that [Crail] to Kilrinnie, Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, and Pittenweem ; and after proclaimeing in all those royall burroughs, and makeing search for armes and amunition, according to my intelligence in all those places, I got nothing worth the nameing, except some bars of lead, which being weightie, I left the

one half in safe hands to be sent for, and took the other half alonge with me. That night I took up my quarters in the Abbay of Pittenweem, which, being nere the toun, afforded us all we wanted. . . .

I had not slept ane hour, when I receaved a letter from my Lord Mar, which I shall insert from his originall. . . .

I desire, upon sight hereof, that you'll send all the barks and boats that can possiblief be had to Bruntisland, without looseing a moment of time, the troops of Bruntisland haveing orders to embarke there ; and I have order'd all the Troops here [at Perth] to marche to-morrow morning [October 8] towards Stirveling, which will make your joyning us again the more easie. . . .

After receaving my Lord Mar's letter, I wrote him an answer, giveing an account of everie thing I had done in my march, and letting him know that Mr Crawford had assured me that the transport was practicable, and that he'd doe what he could to get them boats soon readie, but it was not to be done in less than three days. . . .

By seven of the clock [on October 8] I receaved a letter from Mackintosh of Borlome from Bruntisland, who now begun to be call'd Brigadeer Mackintosh. His letter assured me that a great bodie of both foot and horse of the enemie was alreadie in Dumfermling, and that they were to march towards him as soon as the moon rise, and for that reason, most earnestlie desired I should joyn him with all possible diligence. . . .

I . . . wrote back to Mackintosh of Borlome, telling him I had no orders to obey him ; and tho' I had, if his intelligence was true, it would be impossible to joyn him, since I believed he must be attackt before his letter came to me ; nor, were I with him, could those under my command be of any use to him.

Haveing thus reason'd, I . . . had no more to doe but to proclaim in Ely, Leven, and Wemyss. . . . I got on horseback after eight, and haveing sent severalls best known in the countrie out to reconnoitre on all the roads, I continued my route four miles up the coast, and . . . changed my route nere Durie, and marched northward cross the countrie, nere Melville House, where I resolved to take up my quarters that night [October 8]. . . . But Major Balfour, to whom my Lord Mar had given the conjunct command, tho' he did not pretend to determine me, yet presst hard before the whole command, that being onlie nine miles from Pearth, we should marche that night to it . . . to which I consented, haveing no reason to give why I should not. And haveing day enough, fed our horses and halted there above an hour, and march'd, as we did all alonge, in order and at leasure, the shortest way thro' the hills of the north of Fife, and got to Pearth before it grew dark. . . .

I found all our armie drawn up before the toun of Pearth, and it was then my Lord Mar's

first and onlie commission [from the Chevalier] was read.¹ . . .

Some days after my returneing to Pearth, Mackintosh was order'd to leave Bruntisland and march with those under his command to Creile, Anstruthers, and all those touns where the boats lay, and to embarque in these places, and saile straight over the Frith to whatever port the wind blew fairest ; and left some men in Bruntisland Castle, as he was commanded, to amuse the men-of-war who had been cannonadeing him there for tuo days together without doeing the least harm ; Mr Craufurd and some others, who were let into the secret, haveing prepar'd the boats and made that affair prettie easie.

Rae, *History*, 258.

The Earl of *Mar*, to prevent all Suspicion of their Design to embark on the East Shore of *Fife*, and to draw off the Ships from the Mouth of the *Firth*, caus'd another Body of Men to march openly to *Brunt-Island*, who got several Boats together and made a Feint of embarking there. The small Ships of War, which were cruizing in the *Firth* to observe their Motions, had, with the Custom-House Smacks, brought several of their Boats to *Leith*, pursuant to the Order of the Duke of *Argyle* ; and now(*e*) having

¹ On October 6, Mar received his commission and a letter from the Chevalier.—*A Collection of Original Letters*, 56.

(*e*) *October 11th*, 1715.

Notice of their daring Attempt to embark at *Brunt-Island*, they mann'd out their Boats in order to attack them, and slipping their Cables, stood ov'r to that Shore to second their Boats, and to Cannonade the Boats in the Harbour, as also the Town of *Brunt-Island*, in case they made any Resistance ; But the Rebels, having raised a Battery and planted some Cannon on the Out-Part of the Harbour, fir'd many Shots at the Ships, and the Ships at them, tho' without any Dammage on either Side.

Nor did this Piece of Policy fail them in the Management of their grand Design : For while some of them amus'd the King's Ships near *Brunt-Island*, as if they would cross above *Leith*, their main Body, consisting of 2500 Men under the Conduct of Brigadier General *M'intosh* of *Borlam* (as they were pleas'd to call him), came down to the Shore under cover of the Night in order to embark at *Pittenweem*, *Creil*, the *Ely*, and other Parts on that Coast.

On *Wednesday* the 12th of *October* at Night, some of them embarked, and others next Night, in open Boats, taking their Course directly to the South Shore of the *Firth*, which is there about 16 or 17 Miles broad ; His Majesty's Ships in the *Firth*, either espying them from their Top-Masts, or having Notice of their Design, weigh'd Anchor on the Top of the Flood, and set Sail to Intercept them ; but the Wind not being fair, they were not able to come time enough to prevent their Passage : Yet one Boat was taken with 40 Men, who were made Prisoners in

Leith, and their Officers were committed to *Edinburgh* Castle. Other[s] were forc'd back to the *Fife* side again ; 'mongst whom, the Lord *Strathmore* and his Lieutenant Colonel *Walkingshaw* of *Barrowfield*, and a great many Men, were forc'd into the Isle of *May*, where they stay'd till the next Night, and then got back to *Creil* on the Shore of *Fife*, and in a few Days after, they join'd the Earl of *Mar* at *Perth*.¹ The rest of this Detachment design'd for this Descent upon *Lothian*, being in Number about 1600 Men,² landed in the Night Time at *North-Berwick*, *Aberlady*, *Gallon*, and other Places, about 12 Miles *East* of *Edinburgh*. . . .

As soon as *John Campbel*, then Lord Provost of *Edinburgh* . . . had Notice of their Landing, he ordered the City Guards, the Train'd Bands, New Levies, and Associate-Volunteers to the respective Posts assign'd 'em, for Defence of the City and to prevent Disturbance within it. The Associate-Volunteers had the *Nether-Bow* Port, the Gate next to the Rebels, assign'd them as their Post, which they guarded with great Care and Diligence for Ten Days' Time. . . .

The Lord Provost having further Intelligence by

¹ Strathmore's men numbered nearly three hundred. Mackintosh was blamed for having embarked without leaving clear directions to the others. Sinclair states that Strathmore was confined to the Island of May for eight days.—*Memoirs*, 128.

² A large number of Mackintosh's force did not embark at all. Sinclair states that only eleven hundred landed in Lothian.—*Ibid.* 128, 129.

the Spies he had abroad that the *Highlanders* were in *Haddingtoun* on *Thursday's* Night [October 13], and supposing they might take their Rout towards *Edinburgh*, On *Fryday* the 14th in the Morning, about the very same Time they began their March, His Lordship sent an Express to the Duke of *Argyle*, advising him of the Rebels their being at *Haddingtoun* the Night before, desiring his Grace to send a Detachment of the Regular Troops to the Support and Assistance of the Loyal Citizens. The Duke having receiv'd the Express, and without loss of Time perceiving the dangerous Consequences of their seizing *Edinburgh*, Did that same Day, about Noon, mount 200 Foot on Country Horses for the Greater Expedition, and with 300 chosen Dragoons marched, or rather, posted to the Relief of *Edinburgh*, and about Ten at Night came opportunely to the *West-Port* when the Rebels were not far from the *East*. Soon after, his Grace enter'd the City, to the unspeakable Joy of the Loyal Inhabitants, 'where he was joyn'd by the Horse Militia of *Lothian* and the *Mers*, with a good many Volunteers, both Horse and Foot, who with the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, the Lord *Belhaven*, etc., had retir'd into *Edinburgh* on the Approach of the Rebels.' (i)

The Rebels were advanc'd as far as *Jock's Lodge*, not a Mile from the Royal Palace of *Holyroodhouse*, in a full March to the City, when my Lord Duke arriv'd ; but finding no Numbers come out to join

(i) Compl. Hist. of the *late Rebellion*, Page 47.

them, and being informed as well of the Posture of the Citizens as of the Approach of the Duke of *Argyle* . . . they halted, and calling a short Council, resolv'd to go down to *Leith* ; so they speedily turn'd to the Right and marched to *Leith*, which, being an open Place, they enter'd without any Resistance ; and after they had made themselves Masters of the Guard, they open'd the Gates of the Tolbooth, and set at Liberty their Men that were taken in the Boat as they were crossing the *Firth* : Then entering the *Custom-house*, they seiz'd a considerable Quantity of Brandy and other Provisions. Thereafter they march'd over the Bridge and lodged themselves in the old *Citadel*, a square Fort with Four *Demi-Bastions*, built in the *Usurper's* Time, with a large dry Ditch about it, never intirely demolish'd, only the Gates defac'd, the Ramparts still remaining untouch'd, as firm and high as ever, with a good many convenient Houses built within it by the Inhabitants of *Leith* and *Edinburgh* for the Benefit of the Air, as a Summer's Retreat. In this Fort, such as it was, they posted themselves and began to Fortify ; and first, they went on Board the Ships in the Harbour and seized several Pieces of Cannon, with Powder and Ball and what else was proper for their own Defence ; and next, they planted some Cannon at all the Ports and upon the Ramparts, and barricaded the most accessable Places with Beams, Plancks, Carts fill'd with Earth and Stone, and other Materials. Thus it stood with the Rebels, who

had got themselves into the most convenient Scituation that could be imagin'd for their Purpose, where they had Time and Leisure in Safty to contrive their Escape : For, considering who was now close at their Heals, it was fit to lay all other Projects aside.

On *Saturday* (*k*) Morning early, the Duke of *Argyle* . . . (*) march'd directly towards the Citadel ; and having posted the Dragoons as near the North-East side as he could with Safety from the Enemy's Fire, and the Foot on the South-East, he himself, with the Generals *Evans* and *Wightman*, Colonel *Deburgay*, etc., went down 'twixt the Fort and the Sea, to re-coinoitre where or in what Part it might be most conveniently attack'd : His Grace having summon'd the Rebels to lay down their Arms and surrender upon Pain of High Treason, declaring withal, that if they oblig'd him to bring Cannon to Force them, and they kill'd any of his Men in Resisting, he would give them no Quarter, He received a resolute Answer from a *Highland* Laird called *Kinackin*, who told the Duke, *That as to surrendering, they laughed at it ; and as to bringing Cannon and assaulting them, they were ready for him ; that they would neither take nor give any Quarter with him ; and if he thought he was*

(*k*) *October 15th, 1715.*

(*) 'Tis not to be forgot, that some of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, as they had appeared in Arms in the City to animate their People to act vigorously in Defence of that Important Place, so now they came along in this Expedition, in Rank and File, like common Soldiers, with Firelocks and Bayonets.—Rae's note.

able to Force them, he might try his Hand. (l) And thereafter, having ask'd the Sentiments of the Gentlemen, they unanimously gave it as their Opinion, That as things then stood it was impracticable to attack it, Considering that the Enemy were within strong Walls, near to double the Number of the Besiegers, well supply'd with Cannon and small Arms ; when his Grace had neither Cannon, Mortar, Gunner, nor Bombardier (being all at *Stirling*) to make Way for an Assault, or to force them out of their strong Entrenchments.

The Duke himself added, That being now about 200 Paces from it (where, be the by, the Enemy's Ball were grazing among their Horses Feet), before he could come at the Foot of the Wall, or to either of the two barricaded Places, he might in all probability receive five Fires, which, at a modest Computation, might cut off the half of his Men, and be as far from his Purpose as ever. . . .

And thus, the Duke being unwilling to expose the brave Gentlemen Volunteers . . . and the few Regular Troops he had . . . His Grace retir'd to *Edinburgh* in the Evening, to cause the necessary Preparations to be made to attempt the dislodging of the Rebels next Day.

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 130.

Mackintosh, after being invested in the Citadell of Leith, or on the approach of the enemie, had

(l) The Annals, Vol. 2. Pag. 96.

found means to send tuo letters to my Lord Mar.¹ We, in the mean time, knowing nothing of this, were order'd to march by break of day next morning [October 16], and drew up without the toun [Perth], where we continued three hours. . . .

His Lordship of Mar came out about ten of the clock ; orders were instantlie sent alonge the line that all Noblemen, Heads of Clans, and Commanders of Corps should repair that moment to a house in the front ; which accordinglie being done, care was takne to put out all others, and the doors shut. My Lord, with a most dejected countenance and a sad voice, told us, He was sorrie to give us the bad neus of Mackintoshes being invested in the Citadell of Leith, and that his goeing there, contrarie to his Lordship's last orders, would in all appearance prove a fatall mistake to him ; and next read us tuo dismall letters, where Mackintosh, appearing disheartned, said that a few hours would determine his fate, in these words, but that he'd doe his best ; tho' he mentioned the preparations of cannon and bombs with terrour, which, he said, would soon doe his work. My Lord Mar said, He gave him over for lost, and did not see that we could help him in the least, except by makeing a feint towards Stirveling, to bring the Duke of Argyle back, and even that appear'd to him unnecesarie, believing him alreadie takne. . . . Generall

¹ Mackintosh despatched a boat from Leith, and discharged a ' Cannon after her, to make the Men of War imagine her an Enemy to the Rebels.'—Patten, *History*, 9.

Hamilton said, That makeing a feint towards Stirveling might doe good and could doe no harm, and in all events it ought to be done. No bodie saying one worde, the marche was determin'd, and we marched off the ground that moment to Auchterardoch. . . .

We cantoon'd that night at Auchterarduch and about it, where we came very late, which occasion'd great difficultie in getting quarters, and march'd next morning [October 17], and halted towards night at Arduch, and drew up there for some time, both foot and horse, where it was believed we were to ly in the fields that night. But all of a suddain, I received an order to follow the other horse, who begun to file off; we marched at a great trot, in a heavie rain, in the dark, and came to Dumblain betwixt eight and nine.¹ . . .

We continued there till twelve of the clock [next day, October 18] in the bitterest cold that I ever felt; at last his Lordship of Drummond . . . was designeing to marche back, when he reflected that he had forgot to proclaime the King at Dumblaine, haveing had so great matters to mind,² and returned to the toun with a few gentlemen and did it. . . .

¹ Mar and his infantry remained at Ardoch while the cavalry rode forward to Dunblane.

² I have omitted from Sinclair's account of this march a large amount of criticism of its motives and conduct in which he characteristically indulges. In particular he objected to the dangerous situation of the horse, of which Drummond was in command, at Dunblane, owing to their nearness to the enemy, as also to their being cooped up in a position whence it would be difficult to extri-

Then we marched back and cantoon'd in and about Auchterarduch, where the foot joy'nd us from Arduch. How, in that wide cantoonment, we missed the haveing many of our horses and men takne or cut off, I can't account for ; onlie that regular troops make but bad partizans, and above all the English, who have been least used of anie to the *petite guerre*.¹

Rae, *History*, 263.

But [meanwhile,] the Rebels [at Leith] seeing that there was no longer Expectation of Encouragement from their Friends in *Edinburgh*, and being likewise inform'd that the Duke of *Argyle* was making Preparations to attack them with Artillery, That same Night [October 15], about Nine a Clock, they abandon'd the Citadel of *Leith* in the deepest Silence, taking the Advantage of the Low Ebb of the Tide, and march'd off by the Head of the Peer on the Sands East-ward, to cover their Retreat, and so went to *Seaton-House*, a strong old Castle, about 7 Miles from *Edinburgh*, belonging to the Earl of

cate themselves. In his self-complacency and persistent cavilling Sinclair recalls Sir James Turner and his depreciation of Alexander Leslie in the Bishops' Wars. To his superior officers he must have been supremely irritating.

¹ Mar's account of this march upon Stirling is in a letter to Thomas Forster, in Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 146 ; Rae, *History*, 291. Thence it appears, that but for news of Argyll's having been reinforced, and the impossibility of joining hands with Gordon and the Clans, Mar really contemplated a general advance against Argyll, and no mere feint to draw off the Duke from Mackintosh.

Wintoun ;¹ leaving behind them about 40 Men (who had made too free with the Brandy which they found in the Custom-House) with some Baggage and Ammunition, besides some Stragglers that lagged behind in their March, which were taken by a Detachment under the Command of Colonel *Debourgay*. . . . About two in the Morning they arriv'd at *Seaton*-House, where they were join'd by some of their Friends, who, having cross'd the *Firth* farther *East*, had not landed so soon, nor been able to come up to them on their March to *Leith*.

The Duke having got Notice that Morning (*n*) That the Rebels had deserted the Citadel of *Leith* and were got into fresh Quarters at *Seaton*, he sent an Express to *Stirling* for four Gunners and two Bombardiers of the small Train that was there with the Army ; and in the mean Time, ordered two Piece of small Cannon and two Mortars to be got ready in *Edinburgh* Castle in Order to dislodge them : But the Rebels, before they retired from *Leith*, having sent over a Boat with an Express to the Earl of *Mar* to acquaint him with their Proceedings and Circumstances, the Earl, to withdraw the Duke of *Argyle* from attempting any thing against them, gave out that he would pass the *Forth* with his Army, either at *Stirling* [or] near the Bridge of *Down* ; and in Order thereunto, they began their March. . . .

¹ George Seton, fifth Earl of Wintoun ; born 1678? ; died 1749.

(*n*) Sunday, October 16th, 1715.

Which being notify'd to Lieutenant General *Whet-ham*, who commanded at *Stirling* in the Duke's Absence, Upon *Sunday's* Night and *Monday's* Morning [October 16 and 17] he sent three Expresses to my Lord *Argyle* with certain Intelligence, *That the Rebels, to the Number of 10000 Men, were upon a full March from Perth towards Stirling.* The last of these Expresses bore, *That their Vaunt-Guard and 4000 of their best Men were to be at Dumblain that Night.* . . .

Upon these Advices, the Duke having left 100 Dragoons and 150 Foot under the Command of Colonel *Ker*, Major General *Wightman*, etc., together with the *Militia* and Gentlemen Volunteers, under the Command of their proper Officers, for the Security of the City of *Edinburgh* and to carry on the Seige of *Seaton-House*, he mounted, with 200 Dragoons and 50 of the Foot, on *Monday* the 17th about Noon, and arriv'd at *Stirling* about 8th at Night; at which Time it was confirm'd by many of the Inhabitants of the Town of *Dumblain*, and by several Countrymen who had been chas'd from their Dwellings upon the Approach of the Rebels, that their whole Army was to be at *Dumblain* next Morning, Resolving to take the Advantage of his Grace's Absence, and to cross the *Forth* either at *Stirling* or near it. But as his Grace's Return gave new Life and Vigour to his formerly disponding Army, who now thought no Numbers too many for them, So it struck a Damp upon the Spirits of the Rebels at

Dumblain, who being soon after apprized of it by Letters from two of the *Jacobite* Inhabitants of *Stirling*, they stood to their Arms all Night, and early next Morning [October 18] retir'd and made a sudden Retreat back to *Perth*.

But to return to the *Highlanders* under the Command of Brigadier *M'Intosh*; as soon as they were got into *Seaton-House*, they entrenched the Avenues and fortify'd the Gates, so as they were not in Danger of any Surprise: And the Duke of *Argyle* . . . at the same Time when he sent for the Gunners from *Stirling*, he sent out a Detachment of Dragoons with a Party of the Volunteer-Horse to alarm them; But so soon as they appear'd near *Preston-Pans*, a Party of the *Highlanders* march'd out of the Castle and formed themselves in order to receive them: The Party from *Edinburgh*, finding that their Scituation and Posture was such as nothing could be attempted without more Forces, retir'd and returned to *Edinburgh* that Night, and the Rebels likewise retir'd into their Garrison. And on *Monday* the 17th (when the Duke went to *Stirling*) The Lord *Tor-phichen*, with the 200 Dragoons which his Grace had left, and the Earl of *Rothes* with 300 Gentlemen Volunteers, marched from *Edinburgh* to *Seaton-House*; but finding the Rebels so strongly entrench'd within the Gates, that it was impossible to dislodge or reduce them without Artillery to batter the House, they returned that Night *re infecta*, after they had exchanged some Shots with the Rebels

(as one¹ says) and the Rebels with them, without any Damage on either Side.

While the Rebels continued there, they sent out Parties who brought 'em in great Plenty of Cows, Sheep, Meal, and other Provisions, and gave out that they design'd to fortify there and make *Seaton* a Magazine while they rais'd an Army, as well from the *Borders* and *West Parts* of *Scotland*, as from *Edinburgh* and the Country about. But having on the 18th received Letters from the Earl of *Mar*, in Answer to their's from *Leith*, with Orders to March towards *England*, and at the same Time an Express from Mr. *Forster*² inviting them to meet him at *Coldstream* or *Kelso*; On *Wednesday* the 19th, early in the Morning, they marched from *Seaton* and arrived that Night at *Longformachus*, about 17 long Miles from thence. As they march'd by *Hermistoun*-House, the Seat of Doctor *Sinclar*, their Brigadier *M^cIntosh* (in Resentment of the Doctor's Conduct at *Keith*³) gave Orders to plunder and burn it; But

¹ Patten, *History*, 12. Rae's *History* is so much fuller than Patten's in all that relates to the Rising in Scotland that I have used it preferably throughout this chapter. Patten accompanied the Jacobites in the march to Preston, of which I give his account in Chapter vi.

² Thomas Forster, the leader of the Northumberland Jacobites, was Member of Parliament for that county from 1708 to 1716. He was born about 1675, and died in 1738.

³ On October 8 Doctor Sinclair had gone to the house of Hepburn of Keith, whom he suspected of an intention to join the Jacobites in arms. Shots were exchanged and Hepburn's younger son was killed. 'This was the first Blood spilt in the Rebellion.'—Rae, *History*, 244; Patten, *History*, 15.

Mr. *William Miller* of *Mugdrum*, Major of his Regiment, and Mr. *Meinzies* of *Woodend* having diswaded the Brigadier from raising Fire so soon, the Burning of this House was prevented; yet, the other Part of the Order was put in Execution by the Lord *Nairn*, who caused his *Highlanders* plunder it of every Thing valuable which they could carry with them.

As soon as Major General *Wightman* had received Intelligence of their Motion from *Seaton*, he marched from *Edinburgh* with 80 Dragoons, 50 Militia, and some Volunteers to attack them in the Rear: And having put 50 of the Foot into *Seaton*-House (where they recovered much of the Spoil which the Rebels had left behind) and order'd the Court-Walls thereof to be demolished, that it might not be a Refuge to others of the Rebels who might possibly come over the *Firth*, or to *M'Intosh* and his Men in case they should return to that Place, he return'd in the Evening with several Prisoners who had lagg'd behind. Besides those, several others deserted during this Day's March, who were afterwards taken up by the Country and sent in to *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*, where they were kept Prisoners till the *Rebellion* was over.

The Gentlemen . . . who were assembl'd at *Kelso*,¹ being inform'd of the Rebels their March, and finding they could not defend the Place against

¹ Sir William Bennet and others left Stirling on October 11 and reached Kelso on the 13th in order to put that place into a posture of defence.—Rae, *History*, 255.

so great a Force, did on *Thursday* the 20th abandon it, most of 'em going for *Edinburgh*, and carrying all the Arms with 'em. That same Day, *M'Intosh* and his Men set out from *Longformachus* and marched to *Duns*. Next Day [October 21] they drew up in *Battalia* while the *Pretender* was Proclaim'd, and then retired again to their Quarters. And having Collected the Publick Revenues there, they set out on *Saturday* the 22^d for *Kelso*, where they arriv'd that Evening, as we shall hear anon.¹

Rae, *History*, 283.

Having thus far treated of the *late Rebellion* . . . It may not be improper to acquaint the Reader with the State of the *Rebellion* in the *West-Highlands*, and the prudent Conduct of the Earl of *Ilay* and his Majesty's other good Friends at *Inverary*, and in some other Parts of *Argyleshire*; which was of very great Importance to his Majesty's Service at this dangerous and critical Juncture.

The Duke of *Argyle* having about the middle of *September* sent Orders to Colonel *Alexander Campbell* of *Finah*, who then had the Command of an Independent Company, to repair to *Inverary* and bring together the *Militia* of *Argyleshire* as soon as

¹ On the same day, October 22, the Northumberland and Nithsdale Jacobites, under Forster and the Earl of Kenmure, reached Kelso. Thereafter, the three forces combined in the march into England which ended with their surrender at Preston on November 13. For that episode, *vide* Chapter vi.

possible, and to send an *Escort* for Arms and Ammunition his Grace had sent to *Glasgow* for the use of the said Shire, that they might be in Condition to prevent the rising of the disaffected *Clans*, or keep them from joining the Earl of *Mar*: In Obedience thereto, the Deputy Lieutenants immediately enter'd upon Measures for raising the *Militia*; but about the 20th of that Month, before any great Progress could be made therein, *Glengary* and *Glenmorristoun* came to *Abahalider* in the Braes of *Glenorchy* with about 500 Men, on purpose to Raise the Body of the Shire in Favour of the *Pretender*, founding their Hopes upon the Design they had form'd of taking His Majesties Friends unprepar'd, and the Divisions they fancied were then amongst 'em. They had concerted that the whole of the *Clans* should join *Glengary*, that they should first seize *Inverary*, where they expected to meet with no Opposition, and that with all their strength, together with the Men they proposed to raise in *Argyleshire*, they should march to the Plains of *Buchannan*, where the Earl of *Mar* was to join them by the first of *October*:¹ From thence they resolv'd to take their Rout by *Glasgow* into *England*, not doubting that their Proclaiming the *Pretender* at *Inverary* and *Glasgow* would give some Reputation to their Undertaking: But the Duke of *Argyll's* Orders had reached his Friends in those

¹ *i.e.* about a fortnight before Mar's advance towards Dunblane in support of Mackintosh. *Vide supra*, p. 234.

Parts, Time enough to enable 'em to get such a Number of Men together as *Glengary* did not find it convenient to attack them, tho' he continued in that Station till *Clanronnald*¹ came to *Strathphillen*.

For Colonel *Campbel* was appriz'd of their Design by one of the *Clans*: And at the same Time, the Deputy Lieutenants conceived it was the best Service could be done to the Government to divide and bring off the *Clans* and detain them as long in *Argyleshire* as possible, thereby to gain Time, that the Troops expected from *Ireland* might arrive to join the Duke of *Argyle* at *Stirling* before the *Clans* could join the Earl of *Mar* at *Perth*. . . .

In this Sentiment they were confirm'd by the Orders which Colonel *Campbel* then receiv'd from his Grace, to use his utmost Endeavours with *Lochiel* or any other of the *Clans* or their Friends to influence them to remain dutiful in their Alledgiance to his Majesty's Service; allowing him, in his Name, as having Power from His Majesty, to offer them, in that Event, Safety and Protection. The same Night he received that Letter, he had a Message from Sir *Duncan Campbel* of *Lochnell*, *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, and *Stuart* of *Appin*, acquainting him, That if he could promise 'em the Duke's Friendship, they would, as soon as they could get their Men together, march them to *Inverary*, and join his Men who were then in Arms for the King, and they them-

¹ Allan Macdonald; born 1670?; died 1715.

selves would go to *Stirling* to wait on his Grace.¹ Upon which, Colonel *Campbel* communicate[d] to their Messengers the Assurances his Grace had empowr'd him to give them, and likewise acquainted *Glengary* by a Letter that he might expect His Majesty's Pardon if he deserv'd it, and sent *Alexander Campbel* of *Barcalden* to the Earl of *Broadalbine*² to diswade him from entering into their Measures, and failing of that, to perswade his People to continue in their Duty to His Majesty. Some few Days after, he receiv'd the like Message from some other of the Chiefs of the *Clans*, and returned an Answer to the same Effect.

In return to the Notice he had giv'n to *Lochnel*, *Lochiel*, *Appin*, and others, they advis'd him that they had appointed to meet at a Place call'd the *Sui* in order to go to *Stirling*, and that *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, in his Way thither, was to wait on the Earl of *Broadalbine* in order to perswade him into the same Measures. . . . But about the End of *September*, the Colonel received another Message

¹ Mar's project of directing the Clans against Argyllshire and the Campbells, with the object, as it was declared, of 'revengeing private quarrells on the Duke of Argyle,' was the cause of the unwillingness of Lochiel and of Stewart of Appin to engage at this point. — Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 144, 157.

² He joined Mar at Perth before Sheriffmuir. 'His extraordinary character and dress made everie bodie run to see him, as if he had been a spectacle,' writes Sinclair; 'He was the merriest grave man I ever saw.' Upon his suggestion, Mar sent for a printing press from Aberdeen to provide the army with news. — Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 185.

from Sir *Duncan Campbel* and *Appin*, acquainting him that *Lochiel* had miss'd the Earl of *Broadalbine* at his own House, and had gone to *Loggarett* to wait on him, where he was with the Earl of *Mar*, which they look'd upon as a Breach of their Concert, and that therefore they were resolv'd to go to *Stirling* without him ; which Resolution the Colonel approv'd of. Next Day, Sir *Duncan Campbel* came to *Inverary* and acquainted him that *Stuart* of *Appin* seem'd rather resolv'd to be unactive than to go to *Stirling* ; therefore he thought, as the Days of his Citation were running,¹ it was his Duty and Interest not to wait for him. The Colonel perswaded him rather to expect *Lochiel's* Return to the Country, if possible to keep him and *Appin* to their first Resolution ; which he did accordingly, and inform'd the Duke of *Argyle* of the Occasion of his Delay in coming to *Stirling*, but afterwards finding 'em² determin'd to go in to the *Rebellion*, he left 'em and repaired to *Stirling*.

About the 6th of *October*, the Earl of *Ilay* was sent by the Duke, his Brother, to *Inverary*, as above,³ to Command the Loyal *Posse* of that Country at the earnest Desire of that People, who requested that one of the Stock of that Family would come to

¹ He was among those cited, under the *Act for Encouraging Loyalty in Scotland*, to appear at Edinburgh. The Act had received the royal assent on August 30.—Rae, *History*, 208.

² *Lochiel* and *Appin*.

³ P. 215.

head them. About the same Time, *M'Donald*, Captain of *Clanronnald*, with about 700 Men came to *Strathphillen* in *Perthshire*, where *Glengary*, who some Time before was reinforc'd with 300 of the *M'gregours* and *Glenco-Men*, together inforc'd with the Rebels formerly with him, join'd him.

The Loch Lomond Expedition, 3.¹

The Clan-Gregiour is a race of men so utterly infamous for thieving, depredation, and murder, that after many acts of the council of Scotland against them, at length, in the reign of King Charles I., the Parliament made a strict Act suppressing the very name. Upon the Restauration, viz. in the year 1661, when the reins were given to all licentiousness, and loyalty, as it was then call'd, was thought sufficient to compound for all wickedness, that act was rescinded. But upon the late happy Revolution, when the nation began to recover her senses, some horrid barbarities having been committed by that execrable crew, under the leading of one Robert Roy Mc gregiour, yet living, and at this present in arms against His Majesty K. George, The Parliament under K. William and Q. Mary annulled the said Act rescissory, and revived the former penal Act against them.

This Act is still continuing in force ; but upon

¹ *The Loch Lomond Expedition*, MDCCXV. Reprinted and illustrated from original documents, ed. James Dennistoun [Glasgow, 1834].

hopes given them, as 'tis said, by the E. of Mar, of having that brand of infamy taken of 'em, and getting their name restor'd on condition they would appear for the Pretender, about the end of September last [1715] they broke out into open rebellion under the conduct of Gregor Mc gregiour of Glengyle, nephew to the above mention'd Rob. Roy Mc gregiour, and in a considerable body made an excursion upon their neighbours, especially in Buchanan and about the Heads of Monteith, and coming upon them unawares, disarmed them.

Afterwards, upon Michaelmas Day [September 29], having made themselves masters of the boats on the water of Enrick and Loch-Lomond, about seventy men of 'em possess'd themselves of Inchmurrin, a large isle in the said loch, whence, about midnight, they came a shore on the parish of Bonhill, three miles above Dumbarton. But the country taking the alarm by the ringing of the bells of the several parish churches about, and being frightened by the discharge of two great guns from the castle of Dumbarton to warn the country, they thought fit to scamper off in great haste to their boats, and return'd to the isle, where, not contenting themselves with beef, which they might have had, ther being several cows on the isle, they made havock of a great many deer belonging to His Grace the Duke of Montrose, whose property the isle is, and row'd off with them towards the head of the loch, taking along with them all the boats they cou'd find, and drew them up upon the

land at Innersnaat, about eighteen miles up from the mouth of the loch, and in a little time after, went off in a body with their fellows towards Mar's Camp. Upon what consideration it is not yet commonly known, but so it is, that in the end of the last week, they returned to their former habitations on Craigroyston and the parts adjacent on the north-east side of the abovemention'd Loch-Lomond, and upon Monday last, being October 10th, they mustered their forces.

This their return and rendezvouzing brought the country about under some frightfull apprehensions. The Jacobits were at a great deal of pains to perswade people that there was no harm to be feared from them; that supposing they shou'd come down upon the Lowlands, yet they wou'd spoil them of nothing but their arms; that it wou'd be their wisdom peaceably to part with these, because if they shou'd make any resistance, and shed the blood of so much as one Mc gregiour, they wou'd set no bounds to their fury, but burn and slay without mercy. But the people considered that this was false reasoning; that the quitting of their arms wou'd be just as wise conduct as when the sheep in the fable, at the desire of the wolves, parted with their dogs; wherefore they resolved to do their best to defend themselves against those miscreants who neither fear God nor regard man.

For this purpose, and in order to bridle these rebels in their excursions, a strong guard of one

hundred and twenty volunteers from Paslay, having been sometime before posted at Dumbarton, and about four hundred voluntiers, partly of the Right Honourable the E. of Kilmarnock's¹ men, partly of the people of Air, Kilwining, Stevenson, etc., having garrison'd the houses of Drumakill, Cardross, and Gartartan, it was resolved to retake, if possible, the boats from them, by which they kept the countrey round in a terrour. . . .

For effecting this, on Teusday October 11th, about six a'clock at night, there came to the Key of Dumbarton, from the men of war that are lying in the Firth of Clyde, four pinnaces and three long boats, with four pateraroes, and about one hunder seamen, well hearted and well armed, under the command of Captain Charlton, Captain Field, and Captain Parker, with four lieutenants and two gunners. About two or three hours after, there came up to them a large boat from Newport-Glasgow, with two large screw guns, under the command of Captain Clark. All these being join'd by three large boats of Dumbarton, upon the morrow about nine in the morning they all put off from the Key, and by the strength of horses were drawn the space of three miles up the river Levin, which next to Spey is reckon'd the most rapid river in Scotland.

When they were got to the mouth of the loch, the Paslay men, and as many more as the boats cou'd conveniently stow, went on board ; and at the same

¹ William Boyd, third Earl of Kilmarnock ; died 1717.

time, the Dumbarton men, the men of Easter and Wester Kilpatrick, of Rosneith, Rew, and Cardross, marched up on foot along the north-west side of the loch, and after them, on horse back, the Honourable Master John Campble of Mammore, unckle to His Grace the Duke of Argyle, attended by a fine train of the gentlemen of the shire, viz. Archbald Mc aulay of Ardncaple, Aulay Mc aulay, his eldest son, George Naper of Kilmahew, Walter Graham of Kilmardinny, John Colquhoun of Craigtoun, John Stirling of Law, James Hamilton of Barns, with many others, all richly mounted and well armed.

When the pinnaces and boats, being once got in within the mouth of the loch, had spread their sails, and the men on the shore had rang'd themselves in order, marching along the side of the loch for scouring the coast, they made all together so very fine an appearance as had never been seen in that place before, and might have gratified even a curious person. The men on the shore marched with the greatest ardour and alacrity. The pinnaces on the water discharging their Pateraroes, and the men their small arms, made so very dreadful a noise thro' the multiply'd rebounding echoes of the vast mountains on both sides the loch, that perhaps there was never a more lively resemblance of thunder.

Against evening they got to Luss, where they came ashore, and were met and join'd by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet, and chief of the name, and James Grant of Pluscarden, his son in law and

brother german to Brigadier Grant, follow'd by forty or fifty stately fellows in their short hose and belted plaids, arm'd each of 'em with a well fix'd gun on his shoulder, a strong handsome target, with a sharp pointed steel of above half an ell in length screw'd into the navel of it, on his left arm, a sturdy claymore by his side, and a pistol or two with a durk and knife in his belt. Here the whole company rested all night. In the mean time, many reports were brought to them, contrived or at least magnified by the Jacobites in order to discourage them from the attempt; such as, that Mc Donald of Glengarry, who was indeed lying with his men about Strafillan, sixteen miles from the head of the loch, had reinforced the Mc gregiours, so that they amounted at least to fifteen hundred men, whereas ther were not full four hundred on the expedition against them; That the loch being narrow at Innersnaat, where the rebels were lying, they might pepper the boats with their shot from the shore without any danger to themselves, being shaded by the rocks and woods. In a word, that it was a desperate project, and would be a throwing away of their lives.

But all this could not dishearten these brave men. They knew that the Mc gregiours and the Devil are to be dealt with after the same manner, and that if they be resisted they will flee. Wherefore on the morrow morning, being Thursday the 13th, they went on in their expedition, and about noon came to Innersnaat, the place of danger. In order to rouse

those thieves from their dens, Captain Clark loos'd one of his great guns, and drove a ball thro' the roof of a house on the face of the mountain, whereupon an old wife or two came crawling out and scrambled up the hill, but otherwise ther was no appearance of any body of men on the mountains, only some few, standing out of reach on the craggy rocks looking at them.

Whereupon, the Paslay men under the command of Captain Finlason, assisted by Captain Scot, a half pay officer, of late a Lieutenant in Collonell Kerr's Regiment of Dragoons, who is indeed an officer wise, stout, and honest ; the Dumbarton men, under the command of David Colquhoun and James Duncan-son of Garshaik, Magistrates of the Burgh, with severals of the other Companies, to the number of an hundred men in all, with the greatest intrepidity leapt on shore, got up to the top of the mountain, and drew up in order, and stood about an hour, their drums beating all the while, but no enemie appearing, they thereupon went in quest of the boats which the rebels had seiz'd, and having casually lighted on some ropes, anchors, and oars, hid among the shrubs, at length they found the boats drawn up a good way on the land, which they hurled down to the loch ; such of 'em as were not dammaged they carried off with them, and such as were they sunk or hew'd in pieces. And that same night they return'd to Luss, and thence, next day, without the loss or hurt of so much as one man, to Dumbarton,

whence they had first set out altogether, bringing along with them the whole boats they found in their way on either side the loch and in the creeks of the isles, and moor'd them under the cannon of the castle. And thus in a short time, and with little expense, the Mc greigours were cow'd, and a way pointed out how the government may easily keep them in awe.

There are two or three things may be remarked on this expedition.

First, that tho' the Mc greigours deserved extrenities, and our men were in a sufficient capacity to have destroy'd and burnt their whole goods and housing, yet they did not take from them to the value of a shoe latchet, save one fork which might have been used as a weapon.

Secondly, The Providence of God was very observable, in that tho' for three days before it had blown a prodigious storm, yet in the morning, when our men were to go on board from Dumbarton, it calm'd, and they got a fair wind in their poop the whole way up the loch. When they had done their business it kindly veer'd about and brought them safely and speedily down the loch, immediately after which, on the Friday's evening, it began to blow boisterously as before.

Thirdly, The cheerfulness of the men who went on this expedition deserves to be notic'd and applauded. They were not forced to it, as the clans are by their masters and chiefs, who hack and butcher such as refuse to go along with them : wit-

ness Duncan Mc farland in Rowardennin. But they offer'd themselves voluntarily to it. No wonder, for men begin now¹ to be convinced that all is at stake.

Rae, *History*, 288.

[As the result of this expedition,] the *M'gregiours* were cow'd and frighted away to the rest of the Rebels, who were encamp'd at *Strathphillen* about 16 Miles from the Head of the Loch, where, being all join'd, as above, they continued till the 18th of *October*: about which Time they were also joined by *Stuart of Appin* with 250 Men, *Sir John M'Lean* with 400, *M'Dougal of Lorn* with about 50, and a Part of *Broadalbaine's* Men, in all making up by the modestest Computation, 2400 Men.

On the 17th they began their March towards *Inverary*, and came before it on the 19th. From the Time of my Lord *Ilay's* Arrival till now, all possible Means were used to bring in the Duke's Men; but the *Clans* coming before the Place so very soon, tho' *Sir Duncan Campbel's* Men, with those of *Sir James Campbel of Auchinbreck*, the Men of *Isla*, and several others were on their March to assist the King's Affairs, Yet their joining the People within the Town was render'd impracticable: So that they had not above 1000 Men within it when the *Clans* appeared before it, and these were constantly employed in making the necessary Precautions for their own

¹ This account was written on October 15, upon the return of the expedition to Dumbarton.

Defence, from the Time when they heard of the *Clans* being on their March untill they appeared within Sight of the Town, in which Sir *John Shaw* of *Greenock* was very useful. The *Clans* having viewed 'em, and finding them prepar'd to give them a warm Reception contrary to their Expectation, thought fit to delay attacking the Town for that Night, but encamped within Half a Mile of that Place.

That same Night, two Servants of Sir *Duncan Campbell*, mistaking them for the Loyal Party, fell into their Hands, who, after detaining them Prisoners for some Hours, gave one of them his Liberty, upon promising to deliver a Letter to Sir *Duncan*; which he did, and Sir *Duncan* deliver'd it to my Lord *Ilay*. The Letter contain'd a Desire to speak with Sir *Duncan* next Morning without the Town, and any other two of four or five they condescended on, they having Matters of Importance to communicate to them. The Letter was Sign'd by some of the Chief Leaders of the *Clans*. The Earl of *Ilay*, judging that it was necessary to protract Time with 'em as much as possible, in order to divert their joining the Rebels at *Perth* till the Troops from *Ireland* should join the King's Army at *Stirling*, allow'd Sir *Duncan* and Colonel *Campbel* to notify to them, that they would come out and meet with *Clanronnald* and *Glengary* next Morning, and gave them Instructions to amuse and detain them as much as they could.

Accordingly, next Morning [October 20] they met with these Gentlemen on a Rising Ground 'twixt the

Town and their Camp, and acquainted them, That at their Desire they were come out to meet them in order to know their Business: After which, these Rebel Gentlemen told 'em, *They had Orders from the Earl of Mar to oblige them to return home to their Houses: which if they agreed to, they were ready to give them Assurances that the Shire should remain in Quiet.* To which Colonel Campbel and Sir Duncan returned, *That they received no Orders from the Earl of Mar, and would stay together or go Home as they thought fit; That it was their Opinion, That it was more their Interest to return Home than theirs.* The Rebel Gentlemen told 'em, That in Case of their Refusal, they had Orders to attack *Inverary*, and that some of their Number were very forward to begin the Attack. To which they answered, *That they would Divert them in the best Manner they could, and wished the forward Gentlemen amongst 'em might attack them in the Front.* The Conversation continued in this jocking Manner above an Hour: And the only thing they seem'd to be serious in, and which appear'd to be a Proposal made to them in earnest, was, to concert with His Majesty's Friends in that Place, *That neither Party should plunder nor force any Persons to join them.* Colonel Campbel told them, *That no Person should have the Honour to carry Arms for the King along with them but these who willingly offer'd their Service, and That they had no Power to treat or conclude, having only Liberty from my Lord Islay to hear what they would propose,*

and that they would communicate the same to his Lordship. And finally, they promis'd to acquaint 'em next Day with what his Lordship thought of it.

Next Night [October 21] in the Evening, these Gentlemen sent 'em Notice by a Letter, That they had communicated what had pass'd to My Lord *Ilay*, who approved thereof: But the Rebel Gentlemen did not think this Letter (as indeed it was not design'd to be) plain enough; wherefore, the Day following [October 22], they sent another Letter to the Colonel and Sir *Duncan*, acquainting them therein, That their Letter to them was not express enough, mentioning the two Particulars abovemention'd, and desiring a plain Answer from my Lord *Ilay* to these two Heads. The Day following [October 23] they return'd 'em an Answer, Signifying in Substance, *That his Lordship, as he had no Power, either from the King or from his Brother, to that Purpose, could neither conclude nor so much as treat with any Person in Arms against the Government.*

The Day after they received this Letter (i), they march'd off from before the Town of *Inverary* towards *Strathphillen*. And immediatly upon their Retreat¹ the Earl of *Ilay* ordered the above Colonel *Campbel*, with 800 chosen Men, to follow the Rebels at a convenient Distance, and as near their Rear as

(i) Viz. *October 25th, 1715.*

¹ They joined Mar at Auchterarder, probably about a week later. *Vide infra*, p. 264.

possibly he could adventure, in order to disturb their March and to over-awe the Countries thro' which they were to pass, lest they should join them; which indeed had the desired Success. Upon the first Day's March the Colonel got Notice, That there were 400 of the Earl of *Broadalbin's* Men left in the Country of *Lorn*; and having march'd all Night, came up with 'em next Morning, desiring to speak with their Leaders, which accordingly was granted: And the Event of their Communing was, *That he obliged them to return home to their own Houses, under positive Engagements not to disturb the Peace of his Majesty's Affairs*; which they accordingly perform'd, and never joined the Rebels.

In the mean Time, the Earl of *Ilay* remain'd at *Inverary* with 200 Men, and being join'd the same Day the *Clans* went off, or next Morning, by 400 more, waited there till he had got a competent Body of 800 Men together, giv'n the proper Orders to the Deputy Lieutenants for the Security of the Place and Country adjacent, and appointed them not to disband till they had farther Orders. These things took up his Lordship's Time 'till the 11th of *November*; and then, being advised from *Stirling* of the Rebels March from *Perth* in order to cross the River of *Forth* near *Stirling*, came with all Expedition to his Majesty's Army a little above *Dumblain*, accompanied by Sir *John Shaw*, upon Sunday the 13th about *Twelve* of the Clock, as they march'd up the Hill to meet the Enemy. . . .

But before we come to give a particular Account of that Battel, we shall first look back, resume the Threed of the History where we left it, and enquire a little into the previous Conduct of the Duke of *Argyle* . . . as also of the Rebel General *Mar*, who continu'd with his Army at *Perth*, after their Return respectively from *Leith* and *Dumblain*, With what else may be proper to be noticed antecedently to that great Action.

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 166.

We were not long returned to Pearth from Dumblain¹ when another expedition to Fife was set on foot. . . . Their business was to levie the cess² of Dumfermling, a Whiggish toun; and neither that toun, or the countrie about, which was nearer the ennemie, would pay, being supported by the ennemie. . . .

Thomas Grahame, who had acquired the title of Major in the hills under my Lord Dundee, in the same manner as most of our commissions were given of late for want of officers, was named to command fourscore horse and three hundred Highland foot;³ they were order'd to march to Dumfermling, which is fourteen miles from Pearth, but not to goe the

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 235.

² On October 21, Mar published an order for an assessment upon the shires of Fife, Clackmannan, Kinross, and Perth.—Rae, *History*, 295.

³ Rae gives them as one hundred horse and two hundred foot.—*Ibid.* 294.

direct road ; for they were to marche by Dinnen, to pass under the nose of the Duke of Argyle's guarnisone at Castell Campbell, six short miles from Stireling, where he had put some countrie militia, and after makeing so great a detour to insult them by marcheing in their sight, Major Graham was with his command to return to Dumfermling, where he was to raise the cess, and from that to detache nine horse to Culros and some such number to Saline towards Stirling. . . . Gordon of Glenbucket, who commanded the three hundred foot, though a Collonell, was to be under Major Grahame's command, and James Malcome, without whome nothing was to be done, was sent alonge to mannage the whole, haveing been a warriour at Gillicrankie.

They no sooner came to Dumfermling [on Sunday, October 23,]¹ then all the gentlemen of the horse seperated into alehouses and taverns, and after[wards] most went to bed. Glenbucket put the foot into the Abbey, a place stronglie situated, and took up his oun quarters in the toun, and placed a sentrie at his door. Major Grahame placed one sentrie at a bridge, a little without that end of the toun which leads to Stirling ; for, as we had supposed when at Dumblain, the ennemie would come no other way but the streight road. Major Grahame and James Malcome set themselves down to take a heartie bottle : when it was turning late, Gordon of

¹ Rae, *History*, 294.

Buckie, a kinsman of Huntley's, Seaton of Lathrie, and Beatsone of Killrie, who had more thought and judgment than the others, went and found out Major Grahame, and told, by all they had heard or could judge, it would be proper to put out more sentries and take some other precautions. He answer'd them Mr. Malcome and his nephew Robert, who were present, knew the countrie better than either they or he did, and had assured him there was no danger; he drunk on, and they returned.

All this while, Collonell Cathcart¹ was lying without the toun with tuo hundred dragoons, and had his spies goeing out and in, giveing him exact information of everie thing, and finding all to his wish, dismounted some dragoons, and sent them [about five o'clock on the morning of the 24th²] into the toun one way, and a captain with [blank in ms.] on horseback another way. They killed the poor solitarie horse sentrie on the bridge after dischargeing his pistolls, and in a word, were in the middle of the toun before anie bodie knew of them, killed Forbes, a captain of the Highland foot, who fired both his side-pistolls and drew his suord amongst the middle of them, did the same by Glenbucket's

¹ The Hon. Charles Cathcart, afterwards eighth Lord Cathcart. The Duke of Argyll had sent him with a party of dragoons so soon as he learnt that Graham's force had passed Castle Campbell towards Dunfermline.—Rae, *History*, 294.

² *Ibid.*

sentry, who did his dutie and fired. They took eighteen gentlemen prisoners of those who were most alerte and run out to the streets,¹ and very luckie their loss was not greater. The foot in the Abbey were surprised at the alarme and kept within, not doubting that the number of the ennemie was greater in toun than they reallie were, and expected to be attackt themselves. . . .

No wonder if, after this ruffle, everie one run a different way; some left their horses sticking in dung-hills in the streets, and others, when their horses fell in anie narrow lane with justling or makeing too great hast to get away, left them on the spot, and came to Pearth on countrie horses, and said they had their horses shot under them; others run to Bruntisland, some to different places of the countrie, some got under beds, others up to garrets, and most of this when the ennemie was gone, who, knowing of the Highlandmen's being in the Abbey, did not stay to dalley in toun, and beat their retreat very quicklie after their comeing in, for they seised nobodie in houses. The foot had no longer patience there, and went off in order next day to Bruntisland.²

¹ Rae mentions seventeen prisoners, and gives the names of the chief of them.—*History*, 294.

² Another attempt was made later, and with success, by Lord George Murray and a party of Highlanders to levy the cess at Dunfermline.—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 192. At St. Andrews, where the levying of the cess was resisted, the women of the place behaved with considerable energy against a detachment sent from Perth to apprehend the magistrates.—Rae, *History*, 295.

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 187.

As before we [had] onlie wanted Huntlie's joyning us to pass the Forth, and all tongues had been imploy'd against him for his being too slow, and no sooner he came had found out ane expedient to excuse ourselves from doeing it ¹ . . . [so,] After the conquest of Argylshire ² we made ourselves . . . in such a condition that we durst not look at him [Argyll] in front, flank, or rear, and therefor must order the Clans to joyn us, which so soon as they did, we'd make his Grace of Argyle retire to Berwick . . . The Clans bloodthirstie curiositie was soon satisfied in Argylshire, by seeing folks in armes there readie to receave them and nothing to be got in that countrie, for it's ill takeing breeches from a Highlandman, according to the proverb, most willinglie obey'd, and in their marche towards us, were joyned by Lochiell with the Clan Cameron, and Steuart of Apin with his follouing. Mar order'd them to cantoon at Auchterarduch. ³ . . . They were prittie

¹ Sinclair refers to Mackintosh's expedition into England, which he regarded as an expedient on the part of Mar to delay a forward movement against Argyll.

² Sinclair considerably exaggerates the achievement of the Clans in Argylshire. As has been told (*supra*, p. 258), they failed in their main purpose—the capture of Inveraray and the opening of a western path of invasion into England.

³ It was upon October 25 that the western Clans had withdrawn from before Inveraray (*vide supra*, p. 258). They joined Mar probably about November 1; though according to Rae

modest and did not brag much of their success, onlie it was believed the Campbells (1) might at last be brought to marche down the other side Forth and favour our passage now, the Clans being to marche with us. Linlithgow was commanded out to Auchterarduch, with the standard squadron and [Lord] Rollo's, to joyn the Clans. . . . We had been told they were to be nere to five thousand when Lochiell and Apin joyned, but they were not more than tuo thousand five hundred,² being weakned by desertion in that fatiguing marche nere as much as those tuo Clans strengthen'd them. . . .

The Clans being now with us, we forgot to marche to pass the Forth, and reprived the Duke of Argyle till my Lord Seaforth,³ Sir Donald Macdonald, and Frazer (4) joyned us, who we were expecting every day, as we had done six weeks, or rather tuo months

they joined him at Auchterarder on November 11, when he was already on his march to Sheriffmuir (*History*, 301); but Sinclair's account (*Memoirs*, 188) implies that the Highlanders were at Auchterarder for ten days or a fortnight before the advance commenced.

(1) The Campbells were much divided during the whole affair.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

² Rae gives their numbers as one hundred horse and three thousand foot.—*History*, 301.

³ Seaforth was meanwhile engaged in the northern Highlands about Inverness against the Earl of Sutherland. The military operations in that district are treated consecutively, *infra*, p. 306.

(4) Alexander Mackenzie, Younger of Prestonhall, assumed the name of Frazer of Frazerdale, on his marriage with Anne, eldest

before, and no greater appearance of his comeing nou than was then. . . .

[At length, however,] Seaforth being in full marche towards us, and after his comeing, our Generall prudentlie foreseeing there would be no further excuse for staying longer at Pearth, and that there would be a necessitie of marcheing or makeing a feint in ten days or a fortnight at farthest, begun to think it was nou the proper time to fortifie Pearth, I mean make lines about it. . . . [General] Hamilton seem'd to look after it for a day or tuo, but soon wearied of it, and to our eternall shame left the direction of the whole to a French fellow, who had been a footman of Beaufort's,¹ and had takne up the trade of being a danceing and fenceing master in the North, who made the strangest line that ever was made, which served for no other use but the jeast of the ennemie's armie ; nor had the fellow sense enough to face it up, such as it was, so that a man could lay his breast to it, [n]or did he

daughter of Hugh, Lord Lovat. He brought out the Clan Frazer into the Rebellion, but the celebrated Simon Frazer, afterwards Lord Lovat, taking the side of the Government, the Clan came over to him, as the heir-male and proper Chief, and deserted Frazerdale.—Sir Walter Scott's note. Cf. Simon Lord Lovat's account in Patten, *History*, 233.

¹ Simon Lord Lovat. The Jacobite armies would appear to have been uniformly unfortunate in their French engineers. Sinclair is even less scathing in his criticism here than the Chevalier Johnstone regarding M. Mirabelle de Gordon and the fortifications at Stirling in 1746. Vide Terry, *The Rising of 1745*, p. 119.

know to make a foot-bank, as I have been told by severall Suisse officers since; tho' it came all to the same, for the frost and want of time would [have] hinder'd the perfiteing of it, being so late of beginning. . . .

About this time we fell to work to make carriages for our cannon, which we had pickt up in severall places, to the number of eleven field-pieces, six of which were brass, and five iron; and all these, tho' we had neither powder nor ball, were to goe alonge with us when we marched, which time drew near, for Seaforth and Sir Donald MacDonald being in a feu days' marche of us, there was no pretence to shift or delay it longer. Their numbers, till the day we saw them, continued to be near four thousand foot and some hundreds of horse, besides Frazerdale's with his Clan of Frazers, which were augmented proportionallie, and were onlie, in all, seven hundred Macdonalds, about the same number of Mackenzies, and four hundred Frazers, and fortie scrub horse of servants, and others from about Inverness who came alonge with Seaforth; and the great Duffus (1) came in his train, on a Galloway of thirtie shillings, as poor as he went North, no bodie haveing takne the least

(1) Kenneth Sutherland, Lord Duffus, educated in the Navy. He escaped, but was seized at Hamburgh and delivered up to the Government, and continued a prisoner in the Tower till the Act of Indemnity. He afterwards went abroad, and died an Admiral in the Russian service.—Sir Walter Scott's note. He had undertaken to raise Sutherland against the Earl of Sutherland.—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 69.

notice of him of all those thousands he proposed to bring out. . . .

Now all hands were set to work about bringing in meale to serve us in our marche ; but hou that meale was to be carried, or where we were to marche, we did not know. To pass at Stirveling was impossible ; the Foords of Forth was the common storie, but I never heard of anie man of our armie who knew any thing of those foords except Rob Roy (1), who, they themselves said, they could not trust. . . . Nor was it to be expected that the Duke of Argyle, who had surveyed these foords and passages narroulie, and spoilt the foords by digging and putting great beams in them with iron pikes, would let us pass them undisturb'd without disputeing the matter, haveing it always in his pouer to be there before us after we had gone higher then Stirveling, where he had nothing to fear if he left tuo hundred men to defend the bridge : Besides, it was said he had made lines on

(1) The celebrated Rob Roy Macgregor, a freebooter, about whom so much has been said and sung ; his attachment to the Jacobite cause was rather overbalanced by his dependence on the Duke of Argyle, who maintained and sheltered him to vex and harass the Duke of Montrose. In a letter to Marshal Wade, after the war was over, honest Rob owns that his inclination induced him to join the King's troops, but that, afraid of imprisonment, he had been compelled to join the rebels ; a false step, for which he endeavoured to atone by rendering to the Duke of Argyle, from time to time, during the Insurrection, information of the strength and motions of the rebels (see Jamieson's [fifth] Edition [Lond. 1818] of Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland, vol. ii. Appendix).—Sir Walter Scott's note.

all the fords (1), which is not to be doubted he did if he found them practicable, for we gave him time enough to take all his precautions. . . . Another obvious difficultie arose, the enemie haveing cut the bridge of Doun not far from Stirveling, our onlie way to the Foords of Forth ; nor could we pretend to pass that river which is called the Teith, and rather worse to pass then the Forth, as all who knew it said.² At other times we talkt of goeing by the Heads of Forth, but still that river of Teith was in our way, nor could we [have] passed it had we tents to ly out so many days marche in that season of the year, in a wild barren countrie, where there was no manner of cover or provisions, which we had not industrie enough to provide or lay up before hand in Pearth, much less to carrie alonge with us. . . .

Seaforth came at last, with Sir Donald MacDonald and Frazerdale.³ We marched a day or tuo after,⁴ a la bonne aventure, the blind leading the blind, not knowing whither we were goeing or what we were to doe.

(1) It is singular that with so many men in the army from Monteith and the Lennox, they seemed to have been unable to ascertain the real state of these Fords.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

² Prince Charles, under more favourable circumstances, since the only considerable force in Scotland was then in his rear, crossed the Teith at Doune on September 12, 1745, and the Forth at the Fords of Frew on the following day.—Terry, *The Rising of 1745*, p. 50.

³ The force, whose number Rae gives sceptically as eight hundred horse and three thousand foot, included also '*M'Invans, M'Craws, Chisholms of Strath-Glass*, and others.'—*History*, 298.

⁴ On November 10.—*Ibid.* 301.

Rae, *History*, 298.

And now being join'd by all the Troops he had to expect, [the Earl of Mar] . . . resolv'd to decamp from *Perth* and attempt to pass over the *Forth* into the South Parts of *Scotland*, in order to march into *England* to join their Friends in *Lancashire*.¹ To this End he Summon'd his Forces together, leaving not above 3000 Men dispers'd in Garrisons at *Dundee*, *Burnt-Island*, and other Places amongst the Coast of *Fife*: And

Upon the 9th of *November* he call'd a great Council of War at *Perth*,² where the Rebels agreed to put themselves in Readiness for a March over *Forth* with the utmost celerity. And finding themselves Masters of 12000 effective Men to carry on this Expedition . . . they determined to March straight-way to *Dumblain*, and from thence to detach 3000 Men to amuse the King's Army at *Stirling*, which they knew made not full 3000, by making three *Sham-Attacks* at so many different Places at one and the same Time, as follows: With one Thousand they were to attack the End of the

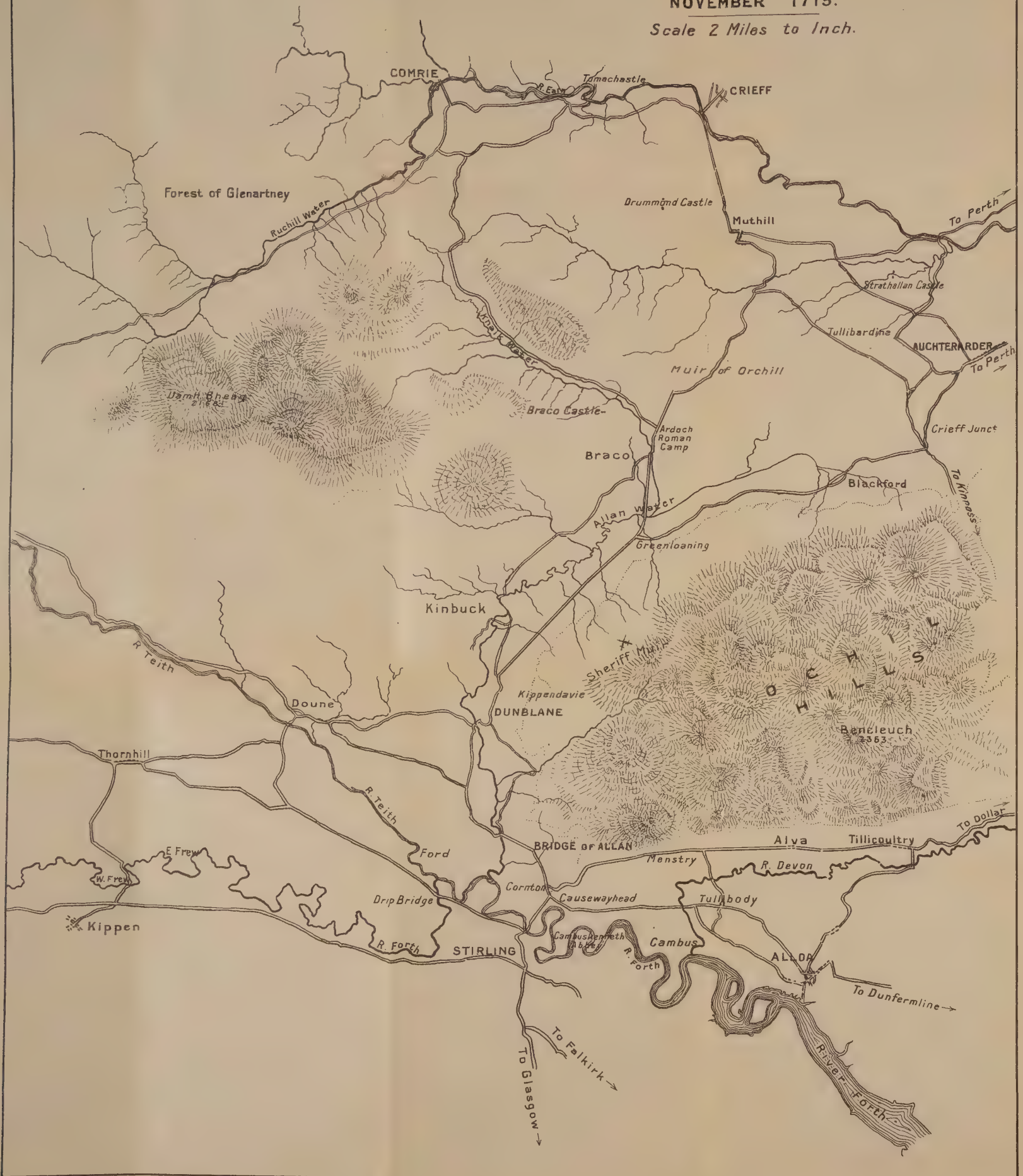
¹ They surrendered at Preston on November 13, three days after Mar advanced from Perth.

² Sinclair does not mention this Council, and affects complete ignorance of the tactics which Mar proposed to adopt. Rae's account would appear to be based on some official sources, since he speaks of it as being 'told from *Mar's* own Cabinet Council.'

THE OPERATIONS ABOUT DUNBLANE

NOVEMBER 1715.

Scale 2 Miles to Inch.



long Casway which leads directly to *Stirling-Bridge*, and to lodge themselves safe from the Cannon of the Castle in and about the adjacent Houses and Barn-Yards, as if they design'd to force the *Bridge*: With another Thousand they resolv'd to make another *Sham-Attack* at the *Abbey-Foord*,¹ a Mile below *Stirling-Bridge*, while the Third Thousand was to make such another Attack at the *Drip-Coble*, a Mile and an Half above it. . . . While the King's Troops were to be amused with these three *Sham-Attacks*, the main Body, consisting of about 9000 Men,² were to attempt to cross the River a little farther up undiscover'd, and follow Brigadier *M'Intosh* into *England*: And the 3000 Men, who were to be employed in these Attacks, had Orders to draw off and follow them with their first Convenience. The Project was further design'd, That if the Duke of *Argyle* should abandon *Stirling* and attempt to encounter that Body of the Rebels after their crossing the River, the 3000 Men above-mentioned were to force themselves into the Town, or press him in the Rear.

Next Morning (*n*), the Duke of *Argyle* having

¹ Near Cambuskenneth Abbey.

² About eight thousand, according to Sinclair, was Mar's total strength.—*Memoirs*, 208. Keith numbers the army at fourteen battalions of infantry and eight squadrons of cavalry, or about six thousand eight hundred in all.—*A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith, 1714-1734* [Spalding Club, Edin. 1843], 16.

(*n*) Thursday, November 10, 1715.

Intelligence hereof by his Spies from *Perth*, and being certify'd of all the Particulars concerted as above, His Grace, to prevent their reaching the Banks of *Forth*, resolved to possess himself of the rising Ground above *Dumblain*, keeping the Road from *Perth* upon his Left, thro' which Road the Rebels must of Necessity come in Order to take Possession of either of the three Places abovementioned, and there to fight 'em if he had Opportunity : And accordingly gave Orders to his little Army, which made scarce 3000 effective Regular Troops, made up of Eight small Battalions of Foot, and Five Regiments of Dragoons (as in the *Plan* below), to be in the utmost Readiness to march next Afternoon [November 11]; for the which End he had sent for the Troops that were quarter'd at *Glasgow*, *Kilsyth*, and *Falkirk*,¹ and for General *Wightman* from *Edinburgh*, to join him at *Stirling* with all possible Speed. The Names of the General Officers of the several Regiments and the Order of Battel was as follows.

¹ Late in October, the regiments of Egerton, Clayton, and Morrison, and two troops of Evans's dragoons arrived in Scotland from Ireland, and were ordered to wait at Glasgow for further orders from the Duke of Argyll. At about the same time, the Duke ordered forty dragoons and a battalion of foot to Kilsyth, and two hundred dragoons to Falkirk.—Rae, *History*, 297.

The English military establishment, sanctioned in the *Gazette* of August 9, 1715, comprised thirteen regiments of dragoons and eight regiments of foot. For a list of them and their officers, *vide The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x. 100-104.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLE, General.

Lieut. General		Major General		Lieut. General	
<i>Whetham.</i>		<i>Wightman.</i>		<i>Evans.</i>	
Brigadier		Brigadier		Brigadier	
<i>Grant.</i>		<i>Clayton.</i>		<i>Ld. Forfar.</i>	
□	□	□	□	□	□
{ <i>Carpenter's</i> Dragons.		{ <i>Portmore's</i> Dragons .		{ <i>Evans's</i> Dragons .	
180		180		180	
□	□	□	□	□	□
{ <i>Col. Kerr's</i> Dragons.		{ <i>Half E. Stairs' Drag.</i>		{ <i>Half E. Stairs' Drag.</i>	
180		90		90	
□	□	□	□	□	□
{ <i>Edgerton's</i> .		{ <i>Clayton's</i> .		{ <i>Ld. Forfar's</i> .	
250		240		320	
□	□	□	□	□	□
{ <i>Orrery's</i> .		{ <i>Montague's</i> .		{ <i>Wightman's</i> .	
320		240		250	
□	□	□	□	□	□
{ <i>Ld. Shannon's</i> .		{ <i>Morison's</i> .		{ <i>Ld. Shannon's</i> .	
340		240		340	

And being thus in a Readiness upon the 11th at Night, His Grace, having left the Right Honourable the Earl of *Buchan*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Stirling* with the Militia of that Shire, and the *Glasgow* Regiment, consisting of 500 Men under the Command of *John Aird*, their Provost, to guard the Town of *Stirling* (*), Did upon *Saturday* the

(*) The *Glasgow* Regiment were order'd to hold themselves in Readiness to march with the Army to give the Enemy Battel; and accordingly were forward to have marched: But, by Reason they wanted Tents, and were not so well acquainted with lying in

12th in the Morning begin his March towards the Town of *Dumblain*; and accordingly encamped that Evening upon a rising Ground to the East of *Dumblain*, 'twixt that and the Mountain called *Sheriff-Moor*.

But before we proceed any further in this Part, we return to the Earl of *Mar*, and bring him also to the Field with his Rebel Army.

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 203.

The first day's marche [of Mar's army from Perth], we of the horse cantooned about Dinnen, and the foot in and about Auchterarduch.¹ That night [November 10] all the Frazers deserted us, hearing of Beaufort's being arrived in the North, their other Chief, whome they owned preferable to Frazerdale, whose title to them was by marrieing ane heiress.² Tuo hundred of my Lord Huntlie's best men who were under the command of Glenbucket deserted us, as his Lordship said, because they had been

the Fields as the Regular Troops; and that, if *Glasgow* People had marched, as many Regular Troops were to have been left behind in their Room, they were therefore stoped from Marching to the Field of Battel; and were left to guard the Town, Castle and Bridge of *Stirling*, with the Foords upon the River *Forth*, in Conjunction with the foresaid Militia, etc., which they did with great Care and Exactness.—Rae's note.

¹ Mar left Colonel Balfour behind in command of Perth.—Rae, *History*, 301. He had with him three battalions for the defence of the town.—*A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 16.

² *Vide supra*, p. 265.

designedlie more oppressed with dutie than any other. That first night of our cantoonment, orders were sent to us to be by break of day next morning in the moor of Auchterarduch, where Mar reviewed us, and all our armie drew up in tuo lines, and afterwards returned to our quarters. In this review there were squabbles about the posts of our squadrons, and [we] were never so constant in any thing as our being disorderlie. . . . We halted there all next day [November 11], nor did I stir from my command. In the evening we receav'd orders to parade in Auchterarduch moor before day, which we did. So soon as I came to the parade, my Lord Mar sent for me and told me, 'That I and the Fife squadron were the occasion of the armie's not marcheing the day before.'¹ I said, He surprised me, nor could I conceive how that could be, for I and that squadron . . . had kept at our quarters all that day. Then he told me, 'That my Lord Huntlie and the Clans, who were to marche before in a separate body, had refused to marche except he'd order me and the Fife squadron alonge with them.'² I told him, I knew nothing of the matter,

¹ Mar's official account, published at Perth by Robert Freebairn, attributed the delay to 'some Interruptions.' — Patten, *History*, 164.

² This had already been urged by the Clans some days before Mar began his advance, and Sinclair, who expresses himself as being at that time 'wearied of Huntley's horse,' undertook to accompany them 'if ever they marched seperatlie on any expedition, and wanted horse.' — *Memoirs*, 189.

and that it was the same to me, as well as to the [Fife] gentlemen where or with whome we were to marche. He said, It was now resolved I should goe alonge with them to please them, and likewise said, He believed I had ane influence on Huntlie, and spoke pressingly to me to encourage him. I ansuer'd, I was not well acquainted with my Lord Huntlie, but that I would doe all that depended on me ; nor had I then the honour of his Lordship's intimacie.¹

I joyn'd the Clans, who by this time were beginning their marche. They consisted of Sir Donald MacDonald's, Captain of Clan Ronald's, Glengarie's, Glencoe's followings, all MacDonalds, Bredalbins, the MacCleans, the Camerons, Steuart of Apins, and the few that were left of Huntlie's Strathdoun and Glenlivet men who had not deserted, for the greatest part of them had gone home. All were under the command of Generall Gordon,² as I was likewise with the three squadrons which I commanded, Huntlie's tuo, and the Fife squadrons. I marched on the front with the horse, haveing de-

¹ 'With more talent than Huntly, and at the same time with less power and influence, the MASTER [of Sinclair] obtained the credit of being his adviser, and chief of the Mutineers, or, as they were called, of the Grumbling Club. He was very sensible of all this, and wrote *recentibus odiis*, which may [be] an apology for the savage ferocity with which he attacks not only Mar but Marschal and others.' —Sir Walter Scott's Preface to Sinclair's *Memoirs*, xix.

² Brigadier Ogilvy was with Gordon.—Rae, *History*, 301.

tached tuo avant guards, and the foot followed. The gross of our armie, under the command of Mar and Generall Hamiltone, were to follow us soon after,¹ to cantoon that night at Arduch, and we were to take post at Dumblaine, eight miles further. It was then the tuelft day of November. We continued in full marche till three of the afternoon ; about which time our Quarter-Masters, who had left us a little before, came back with a lame boy, who had run as hard as he could to tell us that the Duke of Argyle was marcheing through Dumblaine with his whole armie towards us,² and said the Ladie Kippendavie had sent him, whose hus-

¹ Mar's main body paraded, early on the morning of the 12th, on the Moor of Tullibardine, and then marched under General Hamilton's command. Mar proceeded to Drummond Castle to meet Lord Breadalbane.—Patten, *History*, 164.

² Argyll's official account, sent to the King by Colonel Harrison, was to the effect, that the Duke, learning on the 12th that Mar's army had reached Auchterarder, 'was obliged either to engage them on the Grounds near *Dumblain*, or to decamp and wait their coming on the Head of *Forth*. He chose the first on many Accounts, and amongst others, that the Grounds near *Dumblain* were much more advantageous for his Horse than those at the Head of the River ; and besides this, by the Frost then beginning, the *Forth* might become passable in several Places, which the small Number of his Troops did not enable him to guard sufficiently. He likewise received Advice, that the 12th at Night, the Rebels designed to encamp at *Dumblain* ; upon which, judging it of Importance to prevent them by possessing that Place, he marched the 12th in the Forenoon, and encamped with his Left at *Dumblain*, and his Right towards the *Sheriff-Moor*.'—Patten, *History*, 151.

band (1) was in the armie with us. . . . Upon this, the Generall [Gordon²] sent ane express to Mar, and I detached half a dozen of the horse to goe as nere to Dunblaine as possible to reconnoitre the enemie, and Gordon order'd me to halt and draw up the horse, and ordered the foot to doe the same, the boy still affirming he had seen the enemie, and saying he was satisfied to be hanged if we did not find it so.³

We had no sooner halted then [Quartermaster-General] Peter Smith⁴ . . . order'd us to marche on, and the foot followed. As we were thus in motion, we met severall of the countrie people, who said the generall report was that the Duke of Argyle

(1) Stirling of Kippendavie, whose house is not distant from the field of battle.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

² Gordon's force was at that time about two miles to the west of Ardoch. Hamilton, upon receiving Gordon's message, 'drew up the Army so as the Ground at the *Roman Camp* near *Ardoch* would allow. A very little after, the Earl of *Mar* came up to the Army [from Drummond Castle], and not hearing any more from Lieutenant General *Gordon*, who was marched on, judg'd it to be only some small Party of the Enemy to disturb our March, ordered the Guards to be posted, and the Army to their Quarters, with Orders to assemble upon the Parade, any time of the Night or Day, upon the firing of three Cannon.'—Patten, *History*, 164.

³ Argyll's advance to Dunblane was wholly unforeseen by Mar, who expected to occupy that place unopposed, and concluded that Argyll would fight 'at the passage of the river' Forth.—Keith, *Memoir*, 16. The Duke's motives for not doing so are set forth in note 2, p. 277.

⁴ 'Formerlie a surgeon in the armie, and made ensigne in Douglas regiment after the peace.'—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 205.

was of this side Dumblain ; and now it was beginning to be dark, and we had marched a mile from the place we halted, when I told Generall Gordon, who rid alonge with me all the while, That it would be of very bad consequence at any time to stumble in our marche in the dark on the Duke of Argyle's whole armie, which must be alreadie posted in some stronge ground, otherwise we must [have] heard more of them, but of the worst of consequences at present, when the great bodie of our armie was at such a distance from us. . . .

Upon this, we drew up again on a riseing ground in the moor, and those we had sent to reconnoitre returned, telling that they had heard of the enemie, but it turning dark, they did not care to venture for fear of being kidnapt. . . . Next thing to be thought of was to take up some stronge ground, where we were to be under armes all that night, or till we heard from my Lord Mar ; for now it was to be supposed that the enemie were posted of this side of Dumblaine, and could not be above tuo miles from us. We were also to think of our horses, which could not be fit for anie bussieness next day if we were not near to some farm-house whence fourage could be got. I proposed to Generall Gordon to pass the river of Allen, which was within tuo hundred yards of our right as we were then drawn up, and told him, That I had observed some very good barn-yards on the other side before it grew duskish ; for it was not yet dark. . . . He answer'd, He'd

goe and see what was to be done ; and rid off, with tuo-three more with him, and at last found a little hollow, hard by on the river side,¹ where there were tuo little farme-houses and corn-yards. He came back and led us thither. He gave me a guide to lead the horse into the ground allotted for them, who carried us down a hollow way which leads to the houses, and told me it was the Generall's orders to put our horses into those caile-yards which he sheu'd us, to which we could find no entrie but through the houses ; so I lighted, and with my own hands broke down the walls, the lower part made with drie stone, and above with turf or faile. The first yard not being able to containe us, we broke down the next wall, and did so with another, till the three squadrons got place. These yards made the bottom of the hollow ; all the ground about had a sudden rise from the houses and yards for tuo hundred paces, except toward the north, where we were hard upon the river, which was behind us ; for it can't be properlie said we had front or rear, more than it can be said of a barrell of herrings. In this uneven ground, with a hollow way in it, to better the matter, were we packt in, and all the foot round us, almost as much straitned as we. What the Generall did that lookt at all like a sojer was, to call for a horse-guarde, to send patrouiles a good way round us.

¹ The place where the Clans halted, and where Mar and the main body joined them later, was Kinbuck, which lies close to the left bank of the Water of Allen.—Patten, *History*, 165,

I, with the gentlemen of the horse, took up one of those houses, and the Marquise of Huntlie, Generall Gordon, and the Heads of Clans took up the other. We were not longe got in when Southesque came with the Angus squadron, and told me of Mar with the whole armie's following us; and Mar came soon after him, which was then about nine of the clock, for we had takne a longe time to settle all in that confusion in the darke.¹ . . . So soon as he lighted he came into that house which I had takne up . . . and askt, What intelligence we had got? Which I told him. He treated it with ane air of neglect, as if he had a mind to accuse us of fear, and said he'd lay anie monie that it was not true. Afterwards he called for Generall Gordon, who came alonge with Huntlie. And when the Generall told him the same he said, He knew the contrarie; and to this there was no answer to be made. . . . My Lord Huntlie . . . took me alonge with him, and I left my quarters to Mar. . . . After that I laid me doun in the straw betuixt Captain of Clan Ronald and Sir John MacClean, and slept till day.

¹ 'A little after the Army was dismiss'd [*Vide* note 2, p. 278], the Earl of *Mar* had an Account from Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, that he had certain Intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle's* being at *Dumblain* with his whole Army. Upon which the General [*Gordon*] was order'd to halt till the Earl should come up to him, and ordered the three Guns to be fired; upon which, the Army form'd immediately, and marched up to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* at *Kinbuck*, where the whole Army lay under Arms, with Guards advanc'd from each Squadron and Battalion till break of Day.'—*Patten, History*, 165.

All that night did our armie ly in that small circumference; and I believe eight thousand men, for we were about that number, were never packt up so close together since the invention of poudre. . . . However, that night we had the good luck not to be discover'd by the enemie, as I have been since told, any more than if we had been all buried. . . .

Next morning [November 13], by six of the clock, we drew out of that ground and formed in tuo lines ¹

¹ Mar's official narrative (Patten, *History*, 165) gives the following formation, which afterwards was considerably modified:—

Front.	L	☒ Stirling squadron with the Standard.	☒ Huntly's squadrons.	☐ The Clans.
		☒ Fifehire squadrons. (<i>b</i>)	☒ Perthshire squadrons. (<i>b</i>)	
Rear.		☒ Angus squadron.	☐ Struan's foot.	☐ Drummond's foot.
		☒ Marischal's squadron. (<i>a</i>)	☐ Tullibardine's foot.	☐ Panmure's foot.
		☐ Seaforth's foot.	☐ Huntly's foot.	

This formation is, however, incorrect in the following particulars (*cf.* Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 214):—

in the plaine,¹ above that place where we had lyen that night. At sun-riseing, we discover'd a command of horse² on the high ground to the south of us, at a good mile's distance,³ which appear'd to us a stronge squadron; even then we pretended to pass the river of Teith in order to try the Heads of Forth or the Foords, tho' it was believed the Foords were render'd impassible by the enemie, and agreed to by all that neither the Teith nor the Forth were to be passed at that season of the year, the rivers being so high; nor, without these obstacles, had we anie more provisions left to serve us one day's marche in a countrie where nothing was to be got for ourselves or horses; so all that was possible for us to

(a) Marischal was on the right of the *front* line, with the Stirling (Linlithgow's) and Huntly's squadrons.

(b) The Perthshire (Rollo's) and Fifeshire squadrons were on the left of the *rear* line, with the Angus (Southesk's) squadron.

¹ The army formed 'on the Moor, to the Left of the Road that leads to *Dumblain*, fronting to *Dumblain*.'—Patten, *History*, 165. This is ambiguous, since there are two roads leading to Dunblane: one from Braco through Kinbuck, the other from Greenloaning.

² 'Next Morning [November 13] his Grace being inform'd by his advanc'd Guard that the Rebels were Forming, he rode to a rising Ground, where he viewed the Enemy distinctly, and found, as they pointed their March, they designed strait upon our [right] Flank [on Sheriffmuir].—Colonel Harrison's account, in Patten, *History*, 152.

³ 'When the Army was forming, we [of Mar's army] discover'd some small Number of the Enemy on the Height of the West End on the *Sheriff-Muir*, which looks into *Dumblain*.'—Patten, *History*, 165.

have done was to marche three-four miles further to the Teith, and return starved back to Pearth. So soon as that command of the enemie's horse appear'd, reconnoiters were sent out ; they came back and told us the enemie were all about the inclosures of Kippendavie. After this we lost a great dale of time. I believe his Lordship of Mar, who did not expect the enemie, not knowing what hand to turn himself to, and being then conscious of his want of abilitie for such ane undertakeing, was stunned.¹ . . .

Now it was past eleven of the clock before it seems our Generall took his resolution, and I as well as everie bodie at this moment admire what he could be thinking of all that time, for it was not his part to make the disposition, which was done soon ; but there he was out of his element. Had he been scribbling in his chamber at Pearth, his resolution had been soon takne, and orders sent to the commanding officer to attack, right or wronge, without further consideration.

At last, all Lords, Commanders of Corps, and

¹ Apart from the question of Mar's competency, the project of attacking Argyll had an objection, real or assumed, which was urged by Huntly—namely, that if the army crossed the Forth, the Chevalier, who was expected daily, would be cut off from it. Sinclair, who frankly despaired of success, suggested to Huntly and others that they should fight only after learning from Argyll whether he had power to negotiate full and satisfactory terms with them. Failing that assurance, however, he was resolute to fight,—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 209.

Heads of Clans were called for to a little round spot of rising ground betuixt¹ our lines, where Mar stood. Being all met, his Lordship, to doe him justice, which I think I am oblidge in consciens to doe, it being the onlie good action of his life, made us a very fine speech . . . and concluded it was his opinion we should attack the enemie, who were so near us, and enlarged on the whole in very stronge and moveing terms. . . . My Lord Huntlie was the onlie man who spoke in our Council of War,² and, I think, haveing own'd the truth of what my Lord Mar said, askt, If the gaineing a battle would recover our liberties and give the decisive stroke to our affair as we were then circumstanced, and w[h]ither we could pretend after that to resist the force of England and its allies without forraigne aide? . . . Mar took no notice of what my Lord Huntlie said, and desir'd the vote to be stated, Fight or Not; and all unanimsly, to doe them justice, with ane unexpressible alacritie called out, Fight. And the moment, most went to their posts. . . .

We were no sooner got to our posts when a huzza begun, with tossing up of hats and bonnets, and run through our whole armie on the hearing we had resolved to fight; and no man, who had a drope

¹ 'In the Front of the Horse on the Left.'—Patten, *History*, 166.

² According to Keith, Huntly 'made some insinuations that it wou'd not be fit to remain in unaction till the King's arrival.'—*Memoir*, 17. This is directly contrary to Sinclair's statement already noticed on p. 284, note.

of Scots blood in him, but must [have] been elevated to see the cheerfullness of his countriemen on that occasion ; and for my own part, in spite of my reason, I made no manner of doubt of gaineing the victorie, and by that unaffected livelieness that appear'd in everie man's looks, I begun to think that Highlandmen were Highlandmen.¹

I have alreadie said we had been formed all that morning in tuo lines : Marishall's, Linlithgow's [Stirling squadron] and Huntlie's tuo squadrons were on the right of the front line, and Southesque's [Angus squadron], Rollo's [Perthshire squadron], and mine [the Fifeshire squadrons] were on the left of the rear line, by orders.² From our meeting at our Councill of War we did not loose half-an-hour, when [General] Hamiltone broke our lines each in tuo colloms, and order'd the four squadrons of horse on the right,³ with tuo thousand Highlandmen who compos'd the collom of the right of the first line, to marche and take possession of that high ground where the ennemie's horse appear'd. My Lord Drummond . . . put himself on the head of those four squadrons ; so he and Marishall commanded them, and Generall Gordon commanded the foot. . . . The second colume on the left of the first line marched likewise by the right,

¹ Sinclair held a very low opinion of the Highlanders' fighting qualities. He admits that their conduct at Sheriffmuir corrected his judgment. *Vide Memoirs*, 211.

² *Vide supra*, note I, p. 282.

³ They were Marischal's, Huntly's, and Linlithgow's.

and followed the other at a great distance ; then the first colume of the second line marched by the right, as did the second [*i.e.* left] colume of the second line, so that the three [Fifeshire] squadrons fell into the rear of that colume which marched last off the ground, and had orders to follow that colume, which, it was saide, would carrie us to the left. Rollo was next the foot, and Southesque next him, and I last. . . .

By the time we begun to move off our ground, the four squadrons of horse with Drummond and Marishall, and the first colume of the foot, with them who had made so great haste to the top [of the hill on which Argyll's cavalry had appeared], were nere the ennemie, and beginning to form ; but Drummond and Marishall, instead of formeing on the right of that colume with their four squadrons, formed on the left, which made the center of the foot,¹ it seems not knowing their left hand from their

¹ Of this march in column Mar's official account states, that 'by the breaking of their Lines in marching off, they fell in some Confusion in the forming, and some of the second Line jumbled into the first, on or near the Left, and some of the Horse form'd near the Center, which seems to have been the Occasion that the Enemy's few Squadrons on the Right were not routed as the rest.'—Patten, *History*, 166. Marischal's mistake was even more serious than Mar's official narrative declares. As Sir Walter Scott annotates Sinclair's statement above, 'This mistake, by which the left of the Earl of Mar's army was left unsupported by cavalry, occasioned the loss they sustained, the Duke of Argyle being thus at liberty to outflank their infantry, and charge them with his dragoons, which he could not have done had they been protected

right, thought themselves well there. We observing them form so quicklie, and all the other three columes, who were marcheing most irregularlie at some distance, the one before the other, mended all of us our pace, and followed as fast as we could run, the three squadrons continueing, according to order, to follow the last colume of the foot, who kept us at a gallop, inclineing towards the ground our left designed to take up. When we had advanced prittie well that way with the haste we made, ane Aide-de-Camp of Kilseyth's came to Rollo, who, being nixt the foot, was on the front of the three squadrons of horse, and order'd the three squadrons to the right of the

[on their left] by cavalry of their own.' Marischal and Drummond, as the leading right column, were clearly designed for the right wing. But forming, as they did, on the centre, they left the line weakened in cavalry on its right flank. This entailed the calling up of Sinclair, Rollo, and Southesk from the rear column, and the diverting of them from their proper place on the left to the right wing, thereby leaving the infantry on the left exposed. The mistake would have been avoided, as Sinclair (*Memoirs*, 229) remarks, if Hamilton, instead of advancing the army in order of column, had marched with a straight front towards the enemy, as the ground allowed him to do. Hamilton's reason was no doubt, that drawn up as the army was before it advanced, it was necessary to extend the line towards Dunblane in order to thoroughly contain the left of Argyll's position. Such a movement would probably be difficult; yet there is no doubt that the confusion of Mar's left when the battle commenced was due to the time which had been lost in breaking into order of column and again re-forming. Keith ascribes the mistake not to Marischal but to the foot: 'one colume of foot enclining to the right, and another to the left of the Earl Marischal's squadron of horse, that regiment, which shou'd have been on the right, found itself in the center.'—*Memoir*, 18.

whole armie with all possible expedition,¹ as did with the same breath some one from Mar, and one Lewis Innes from my Lord Huntlie, by Mar's order. Rollo's squadron obey'd at once and went off at full speed, and gave the order back to Southesque's, who did the same to me, onlie with a cry, and went after Rollo. . . . It was more than our necks were worth not to follow our first orders,² except we had seen ane Aide-de-Camp, and [I was for] goeing to the left alone, but dreading misconstruction, thought it best to follow the others, haveing takne witness that I foresaw the consequence, and gallopt as hard as I could after them, who I could not overtake till they were posted on the right of the whole foot, Major Balfour calling always to me that I would ruine the squadron, we rid so hard that our horses were sunk by that time. I cant tell who posted the tuo squadrons,³ but whoever did it, did it well;⁴

¹ Unfortunately for Mar, though his right, which he was strengthening at the expense of his left, was so far hidden from the enemy's view, his weakened left was clearly seen from the Duke's position, and enabled Argyll to 'face about and stretch to the Right,' distributing his cavalry equally—five squadrons to each—between his right and left wings.—Patten, *History*, 159; Rae, *History*, 304.

² *i.e.* to bear towards and take position on the left.

³ Rollo's and Southesque's.

⁴ Writing from Stirling on the day after the battle, General Wightman confirms Sinclair's commendation: 'I must do the Enemy that Justice to say, *I never saw Regular Troops more exactly drawn up in Line of Battle, and that in a Moment; and their Officers behaved with all the Gallantry imaginable.*'—Patten, *History*, 161.

they with the line of foot made an obtuse angle ; for having a little hill nere our flank, we did not know whence the ennemie's horse of the left wing would come ; if they came with their foot on the south side of the hill to our front, it was easie for us to make half a wheel that way ; or if they came on the north side of the hill, we had no greater wheele to make, and could not be attackt in the rear ; all I can say [is], that it was the onlie thing I saw done there with judgement, and took my post as they were draun up, upon their right.

Campbell, *Life of Argyle*, 189.¹

[Meanwhile,] On the 13th in the Morning . . . the Duke of *Argyle* [had] advanced to a rising Ground to take a View of the rebel Army, which he could easily discern in full March towards him. But another Hill on his Left intercepted his Grace's View of the whole Extent of their Left Wing,² by which Reason it was impossible for him to guess at the true Extent of their Line, or how far they out-flank'd him.

¹ *The Life of the most illustrious Prince, John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich*, by Robert Campbell [Lond. 1745].

² This does not tally with other accounts. General Wightman states distinctly : 'The Right of their Line, which vastly out-wing'd us, lay in a hollow Way, which was not perceived by us, nor possible for us to know it, the Enemy having Possession of the Brow of the Hill ; but the Left of their Army was very plain to our view.'—Patten, *History*, 159. Sinclair's account makes it equally clear that the *left* and not the *right* of Mar's army was exposed to Argyll's observation.

His Grace's Army amounting to 3500 men, of which 1200 were Dragoons, was drawn up upon the Hights above *Dumblain* to the North-East of that Place, which lay about a Mile and a half from his Left, and a wet boggy Mire or Morass call'd *Sheriff-Muir* on his Right.

The Order of the royal Army was thus ;¹ the First Line was composed of six Battallions of Foot in the Center, with three Squadrons of Dragoons upon the Right and Left ; the Second Line was composed of two Battallions of Foot, and two Squadrons of Dragoons on each Wing.² His Grace commanded on the Right at the Head of *Stair* and *Evan's* ; General *Witham* commanded the Left ; and Major-General *Wightman* the main Battle or Center. . . .

The Duke of *Argyle*, who till now supposed that the Morass of *Sheriff Muir* was unpassable, saw that the two or three Nights Frost had made it capable of bearing, and the Rebels coming down the Moor with an Intent to flank him, having their Right much extended beyond the Point of his Left, hearing their Bagpipes at a great Distance, found himself obliged

¹ It was about eleven o'clock in the morning when the Duke left the hill from which he had been observing Mar's movements, and put his army into position to resist the impending attack.—Rae, *History*, 303.

² 'The second Line was compos'd of two Battalions [of foot] in the Center, one Squadron [of horse] on the Right, and another on their Left, and one Squadron of Dragoons behind each Wing of Horse in the first Line.'—Colonel Harrison's account, in Patten, *History*, 152.

to alter the Disposition of his Front to prevent his being surrounded, which, on Account of the Scarcity of General Officers, was not done so expeditiously as to be all form'd again before the Rebels begun the Attack.¹

The Left Wing of the Duke's small Army fell in with the Centre of theirs,² which consisted, especially the first Line, of the Flower of the rebel Army;³ the

¹ 'Yet notwithstanding of their beating a great while, the strict Orders not to stir from their Arms the Night before, and the Officers doing their utmost to get them together, it was about *Twelve* before they were ready to March: But that not being a fit time to punish for Breach of Order, the Duke was forc'd to pocket up the Matter till a more convenient Season.'—Rae, *History*, 303. He had already caused thirty rounds of ammunition to be served out to each man.—*Ibid.* 302.

² Argyll was considerably outflanked on his left.

³ 'The Earl of *Mar* plac'd himself at the Head of the Clans, and finding the Enemy only forming their Line, thought fit to attack them in that Posture; he sent Colonel *William Clepham*, Adjutant-General, to the Marquis of *Drummond*, Lieutenant-General of the Horse on the Right, and to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* on the Right of the Right of the Foot, and Major *David Erskine*, one of his Aids-de-Camp, to the Left, with Orders to march up and attack immediately: And upon their Return, pulling off his Hat, wav'd it with a Huzza, and advanc'd to the Front of the Enemy's form'd Battalions; upon which, all the Line to the Right, being of the Clans, led on by Sir *Donald Mac-Donald's* Brothers, *Glengary*, Captain of *Clan-Ranald*, Sir *John Mac-lean*, *Glenco Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, Colonel of *Broadalbin's*, and Brigadier *Ogilvy* of *Boyne*, with Colonel *Gordon* of *Glenback* at the Head of *Huntley's* Battalions, made a most furious Attack, so that in seven or eight Minutes we could neither perceive the Form of a Squadron or Battalion of the Enemy before us.'—*Mar's* account, in *Patten, History*, 166.

Clans [were] animated by the Presence of their respective Chiefs, who led them on to the Attack with uncommon Bravery.

They began the Action¹ by a general Discharge of their Fire Arms, and received the first Fire of the royal Troops without shrinking,² which is a sure Signal that these kind of Militia will stand to the last; but at the first Fire, the Capt. of Clanronald, who led them on in Chief, was kill'd,³ which had like to have struck a Damp upon the Rebels, as they had a Respect for that Gentleman that fell little short

¹ 'The Duke's left was not formed when the Highlanders attacked. Indeed, General Gordon received a message from Mar through 'Captain Livingston of Dumbarton's regiment,' bidding him 'with great oaths, To attack the enemie before they were formed.'—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 217. Cf. Wightman's account, in Patten, *History*, 159. Rae explains that Argyll's left was forming when 'they found a Body of the Enemy's Foot which had lye conceal'd . . . to be just on their Front'; while Mar's cavalry, 'being still to their Left,' were 'in Condition to take them in Flank.'—*History*, 305.

² 'The order to attack being given, the tuo thousand Highlandmen . . . run towards the ennemie in a disorderlie manner, always firing some dropeing shots, which drew upon them a generall salvo from the ennemie, which begun at their left, opposite to us, and run to their right. No sooner that begun, the Highlandmen threw themselves flat on their bellies; and when it slackned, they started to their feet. Most threw away their fuzies, and drawing their suords, pierced them everie where with ane incredible vigour and rapiditie, in four minutes' time from their receaving the order to attack.'—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 217.

³ Sinclair describes him as 'the onlie [one] who attackt with the foot on horseback; who, it was said, dyed, leaving his curse on his follouers if ever they deserted the countrie's cause: He was, without dispute, one of the best men we had.'—*Memoirs*, 227.

of Adoration. But Glengary, who succeeded him, starting from the Lines, waved his Bonnet, and cried three or four times, *Revenge*;¹ which so animated the Men, that they followed him like Furies close up to the Muzzles of the Muskets, push'd by the Bayonets with their Targets, and with their broad Swords spread nothing but Death and Terror where-ever they came.

The three Battallions of Foot on the left of the Duke's Centre² behaved gallantly, and made all the Resistance they could make, but being unacquainted with this Savage Way of Fighting, against which all the Rules of War had made no Provision, they were forced to give way, fell in among the Horse, and help'd the Enemy to put them in Confusion; so a total Rout of that Wing of the royal Army ensued.³

¹ Or, more fully, 'Revenge! revenge! to-day for revenge, and to-morrow for mourning!'

² They represented 'just the Half of our Foot.'—Wightman's account, in Patten, *History*, 159.

³ 'We drove the main Body and Left of the Enemy in this manner for about half a Mile, killing and taking Prisoners all that we could overtake.'—Mar's account, in Patten, *History*, 167. 'The squadrons of Marischal and Drummond, breaking from the position which they had wrongly taken on the centre, wheeled to the right, 'all broke and scattred, everie man for his own hand, rideing as hard as his horse could carrie him' in pursuit of Argyll's broken left. Sinclair had great difficulty in preventing his squadrons on the right wing from following also, and Sir Walter Scott condemns him for his inaction. But if, as Sinclair asserts, he had already heard of the rout of Mar's left, he was probably justified in holding his unbroken cavalry in reserve. Cf. *Memoirs*, 218, 226.

General Whitham, with some of the Horse,¹ riding full Gallop to Stirling, gave out there with certainty that all was lost; but the General was mistaken in that, as well as in the Opinion he form'd of the Men he run from that Morning before the Engagement.

Upon the Right Wing of the royal Army the Duke of Argyle commanded in Person, and charged at the Head of Stair's and Evans's Dragoons,²

¹ They formed the whole of Argyll's left wing, and were, according to the plan on page 273, Carpenter's, Kerr's, and half of Stair's dragoons. Wightman's account slurs over their flight, and Colonel Harrison's narrative asserts that they withdrew intentionally with the object of protecting Stirling against the anticipated advance of the Highlanders in that direction.—Patten, *History*, 153. Rae explains their rout as follows: 'The Left of the King's Army, commanded by General *Whetham*, observing a great Cloud of the *Highlanders* break thro' the Center close by them, and gathering apace, could make no guess of their Number, they standing so thick and confused, and intercepting their View, so as they could neither hear nor see what was acted upon the Right, which the Circular Ground on which the Army stood would of it self have impeded without any other Obstruction, and all Communication or Intelligence by Aid de Camp or otherwise being intercepted, made them firmly believe that the Duke and the Right of the Army were either entirely beat, or at least surrounded by the Rebels; nor did they find themselves in Condition to resent it or rescue them, in case it had been so.'—*History*, 306. According to Mahon, the rout of Argyll's left continued as far as Cornton.—*History of England*, vol. i. 262.

² According to the plan on p. 273, they included also Portmore's two squadrons. The Duke engaged Mar's left with five battalions of foot, five squadrons of dragoons, and one squadron of volunteers.—Patten, *History*. 152. The volunteers, about sixty strong, were commanded by the Earl of Rothes, and were placed behind Evans's squadrons on the right.—Rae, *History*, 300.

attack'd the Enemy's Left, consisting chiefly of Horse, with such Intrepidity, that notwithstanding the Rebels shew'd they wanted neither Courage nor Inclination to stand, yet were obliged to give way, and were put into Confusion. The Duke pursued them towards the River Allen, which he was obliged to do, in regard that tho' the Distance is not above two Miles, yet in that Space they attempted to rally again near a dozen of Times. And wherever the Ground would afford them any Advantage, endeavoured to make a full Stop; so that the Duke having to do with Troops of that Disposition, who likewise out-number'd him, was obliged to follow his blow, least he should have lost the Advantage he gain'd, and have all his Work to do over again;¹ nor

¹ This account of the rout of Mar's left does not mention the fact that they were not fully formed, and indeed already in confusion when Argyll attacked, nor that the Duke had pushed out a body of cavalry under Cathcart across the morass on his right to fall upon Mar's left flank.—Rae, *History*, 305. Sinclair's account brings out both points: 'In what manner our three columns [*i.e.* left wing] run away, none of those amongst them could tell, nor where the flight begun, everie corps putting it off themselves on each other, as is usuall. Most agreed that few of them had ever formed, and those who did, begun to fire at a great distance; that the three columns fell in with one another in that running up the hill, and when they came within sight of the Duke of Argyle's right wing, which was alreadie formed, they were in disorder; and the last confusion, when his [*i.e.* Cathcart's] dragoons made a mine [an attempt] to attack them through the morass, which happned to be betuixt them. . . . I have often wonder'd to see so few killed on all that ground over which he [the Duke] pursued with the dragoons. The onlie reason I can conceive was, his being oblidged to goe about the morass, which gave

was it in his Power to succour his Left, the Rout of that Wing happening so suddenly; and the Officer that commanded that Wing leaving the Field almost at the first Fire of the Rebels, there was no Opportunity to rally the broken Troops a second Time.

Brigad. Gen. Wightman followed close after the Duke with three Battallions of Foot,¹ and ran a very great Risk of faring in the same Manner with the rest if the Rebels had but common Prudence, for no sooner their Right understood the Disaster of their Left than they form'd again, and returned back to the Field, following close on the Rear of Wightman's Battallions, to the Number of 5000;² some say that

our people a great advantage in the flight down hill, and that the frost was strong enough to bear them on foot, when the dragoons' horses sunk deep in the moor, our's in the mean time getting over the river of Allen.'—*Memoirs*, 225. Some currency was given to the explanation, that Hamilton, who commanded on the left, was deceived by Lawrence Drummond, 'Laurie the Traitor,' who treacherously gave him an account of the right having already given way.—Patten, *History*, 170. Cf. Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 240.

¹ Wightman himself says 'with a little above three Regiments of Foot.'—Patten, *History*, 159. They were those on the right centre, and according to the plan on page 273, were probably Forfar's, Wightman's, Shannon's, and a part of Morrison's.

² The position of the field at this point was as follows: The left of both armies was in full flight, Mar's towards the Water of Allen, Argyll's towards Dunblane. Argyll's left centre was broken and in retreat, and Mar's centre was in pursuit of it. Argyll's right centre, under Wightman, was following to support the Duke's pursuit of Mar's left. The only force, therefore, which remained intact in its original position was Mar's right wing, where Sinclair had kept his squadrons carefully in hand. They, with such of the foot and horse as had rallied and returned from the pursuit of

Body was led on by General Gordon, others by General Hamilton, others by them both, and others, and indeed with more Probability, said they were headed by Glengary, and that he, upon being

Argyll's centre and left, left Mar with a force which still was greater than Argyll's whole army, and was in actual possession of the original field of battle. The horse took up their position on the Hill of Kippendavie, slightly in the rear of Argyll's original line, whence they could see the whole extent of the field (Rae, *History*, 304, 306). Here, joined by some of the foot, they faced north and awaited Argyll and Wightman (Patten, *History*, 162). These movements are best described in the following accounts : 'The Right of the Rebels, which had been all this while unactive, Seeing now, by the Retreat of our [Argyll's] Left, That that Part of the Field was empty ; and being encouraged to join that other Party of theirs who had broke thro' our Center, join'd 'em : And crossing the Field of Battle, in Number then about 4000 Men, march'd up to the Top of that Part of the Hill call'd The Stonny Hill of *Kippendavie*, where they Stood without attempting any Thing, with their Swords drawn, for near four Hours Space.'—Rae, *History*, 306. Sinclair gives the following account, whence it appears that an attack was expected from the direction of Dunblane before Argyll returned from his pursuit of Mar's left to Allen Water : 'We were no sooner on the top of that little hill [Kippendavie] then we perceaved their [Argyll's] left wing of dragoons forming, as they return'd from the flight, above Dumblaine, but could see nothing of all the enemies foot and our own horse and foot, betuixt them and us the ground was so hollow and waved, except a few scattred here and there at great distances. At first coming up to that little hill, our three squadrons were carried in to a small pound fold, I don't know how or by whose order, where, instead of making a large front to intimidate those above Dunblain, we made no greater than that of one squadron, so that no man could stir, far less wheel in squadron. I represented to them the risque they run if attackt from any hand, for then all knew the ennemie [*i.e.* Argyll and Wightman] was in our rear as well as our front [at Dunblane]. We defiled out of it at tuo openings,

ordered to attack these Battallions, returned for Answer, that the Clans had done enough, and that he would not hazard them to do other People's Work (meaning the Horse), and remain'd upon a Hill where he seem'd to form his Men as if for some new Action.¹

The Duke having by this Time entirely broke their Left, and push'd them over the River Allen, return'd to the Field; and Wightman, facing again to the Right, took Possession of some Enclosures and mud Walls, which would serve for a Breast-Work in Case they were attack'd,² as they judged by the

one by one; and having extended our front, to keep them in awe that were now formed above Dumblaine, we were told the Duke of Argyle was coming up in our rear from the pursuite of our left wing.'—*Memoirs*, 220.

¹ This story, which appears to lack confirmation, bears some resemblance to the following one of Rob Roy: 'There was another Thing very observable in that Day's Service, *viz.* That one *Robert Roy Mac-Grigor*, alias *Campbell*, a noted Gentleman in former Times for Bravery, Resolution, and Courage, was with his Men and Followers within a very little Distance from the Earl of *Mar's* Army, and when he was desired by a Gentleman of his own to go and assist his Friends, he answer'd, *If they could not do it without me, they should not do it with me*: that is, If they could not conquer their Enemies without him, he should not assist them in the doing of it.'—*Patten, History*, 170.

² 'The inactivity of the rebel army was so great, that they neglected all the advantages of a most excellent position on the summit of a rising ground, round which Argyle was obliged to march, and when, if they had but thrown down stones, they might have disordered him. It was on this occasion that Glenbucket exclaimed, "Oh for an hour of Dundee!"'—Sir Walter Scott's note, in *Sinclair, Memoirs*, 223. The following accounts illuminate this, the concluding episode in the battle:—

Countenance and Numbers of the Enemy they

'As I had kept that Part of our Foot which first engaged in very good Order,' writes Wightman, 'his Grace join'd me with five Squadrons of Dragoons, and we put the best Face on the Matter to the Right-about [the enemy being now in his rear], and so march'd to the Enemy, who had defeated all the Left of our Army. If they had had either Courage or Conduct they might have entirely destroy'd my Body of Foot ; but it pleased God to the contrary. . . . We march'd in a Line of Battle till we came within half a Mile of the Enemy, and found them ranged at the Top of a Hill on very advantageous Ground, and above 4000 in Number. We posted ourselves at the Bottom of the Hill, having the Advantage of Ground, where their Horse could not well attack us, for we had the Convenience of some Earth-walls or Ditches about Breast-high ; and as Evening grew on, we inclined with our Right towards the Town of *Dumblain* in all the Order that was possible.'—Patten, *History*, 160.

Rae supplements this account with the information, that Argyll, having re-formed his army, advanced to the hill with the Scots Greys on his right and Evan's and Stair's dragoons on his left ; that the foot lined the turf-wall or 'fold-dyke' ; and that a single cannon was placed in position in front of both wings, which, in case the enemy attacked, were to deliver two discharges before the Duke's cavalry were to charge.—*History*, 307.

Mar, in his short letter to Colonel Balfour, writes, that after his pursuit of Argyll's left centre and left wing 'to a little Hill on the South of *Dumblain*,' he re-formed 'most of our Horse and a pretty good Number of our Foot, and brought them again into some Order. We knew not then what was become of our Left, so we return'd to the Field of Battle. We discern'd a Body of the Enemy on the North of us, consisting mostly of the Grey Dragoons, and some of the Black. We also discover'd a Body of their Foot [Wightman's] farther North upon the Field, where we were in the Morning ; and East of that a Body, as we thought, of our own Foot, and I still believe it was so. I form'd the Horse and Foot with me in a Line on the North Side of the Hill where we had engaged, and kept our Front towards the Enemy to the North of us, who seem'd at first as if they intended to march to-

should; in this Posture both Parties stood looking
wards us; but upon our forming and marching towards them,
they halted, and march'd back to *Dumblain*.—Patten, *History*,
161.

Sinclair, continuing his account (*vide supra*, p. 298), writes:
'After lookeing at one another for some time, our foot begun to
assemble and draw nere [from their pursuit towards Dunblane],
at least some hundred, I believe three or four; and some few of
the horse, who came back, drew up in the rear of my squadron,
as if they design'd making a fourth rank. On seeing the foot, I
order'd to advance to the enemy, and they [the enemy] wheel'd
and went off, for the little time they were in our sight, at great
leasure, but after they got upon the descent made great haste back
to the Duke of Argyle, who we observed coming to meet them
with a bodie of horse and foot from pursuing our left wing, a
large mile from us, and nearer Pearth then where we were draun
up in the morning. . . . Our foot and horse being almost all
return'd from pursuing [Argyll's infantry and left wing], we
formed into tolerable order, the one half of our horse being draun
up on the right of the foot, and the other on the left, and marched
to that bodie, which was joyned by the Gray Dragoons and marche-
ing to us in order of battle, and were then scarce persuaded it was
the ennemie [Some imagined Argyll's returning right to be Lord
George Murray and Stewart of Invernitie, who had received orders
to march from Burntisland with five hundred men, 'and had
joyn'd the Mac-gregors and MackFiersons']. . . . The ennemie
made the first halt, and we, in complaisance to them, did as
much, and stood lookeing at one another about four hundred
yards distance, for half ane hour; our horse upon the wings
advanced before the foot a hundred yards. . . . We halted in
expectation that the tuo thousand foot would advance and take
up that voide betuixt us, which wou'd [have] formed our whole
line, haveing gone so far to encourage them, but lookt longe in
vaine over our shoulders, for they stood like stakes. . . . The
night coming on, the Duke of Argyle seem'd first to make a feint
as if he was moveing towards us, and inclined after to Dumblain,
and it being almost dark, we soon lost sight of them.'—*Memoirs*,
221.

at one another, but neither caring to engage; when towards Evening the Duke drew off towards Dumblain, and the Enemy towards Ardoch,¹ without molesting one another.²

Patten, *History*, 169.

Monday [November] 14. The Earl of *Mar* drew out the Army early on the Morning, on the same Field at *Ardoch* they were on the Day before. About Eleven of the Clock we perceived some Squadrons of the Enemy on the Top of the Hill near the Field of

¹ Mar's official account has: 'The Earl of *Mar* remain'd possess'd of the Field of Battle and our own Artillery, and stood upon the Ground till Sun-set; and then, considering that the Army had no Cover or Victuals the Night before, and none to be had nearer than *Braco*, *Ardoch*, and Adjacents, whereby his Lordship expected the Left to rally, and the Battalions of the Lord *George Murray*, *Innerness* [Stewart of Invernitie], *Mac-Pherson*, and *Mac-Gregor* to join him, resolved to draw off the Artillery, and march the Army to that Place. . . . But these Battalions [Murray's, etc.] did not join us till the next Day Afternoon, before which the Enemy was return'd to *Stirling*.'—Patten, *History*, 168.

² From Argyll's official returns, his losses appear as follows—Killed: fourteen officers and two hundred and seventy-six men; Wounded: eleven officers and one hundred and seventy-six men; Prisoners: ten officers and one hundred and twenty-three men; Total losses: six hundred and ten, or about one-fifth of his army.—Rae, *History*, 310. Mar estimated his losses at 'not above sixty private Men killed, but several of our Officers are taken.'—Patten, *History*, 163. Eighty-two of his officers and gentlemen were lodged as prisoners in Stirling Castle.—*Ibid.* 156. Very few of his men were wounded.—*Ibid.* 169. Mahon, however, following Chambers and Wodrow, suggests Mar's losses as seven hundred killed.—*History of England*, vol. i. 264.

The cause of Mar's small losses is suggested by Sinclair (*supra*, p. 296) as due in part to the nature of the ground over

Battle, which march'd over the Top of the Hill, and a little after, we had an Account of their marching to *Stirling*.¹ Upon which, the Earl of *Mar* march'd back with his Army, who continued about *Auchterarder*.

Tuesday 15. Rested.²

Wednesday 16. The Earl of *Mar* left General *Hamilton* with the Horse to Canton about *Duplin*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, with the *Clans* and the rest of the Foot, about *Forgan* and Adjacents, and went into *Perth* himself to order Provisions for the Army, the want of which was the Reason of his returning to *Perth*.

Thursday 17. The Earl of *Mar* order'd General

which his left was pursued. It was due also to the fact that the Duke's artillery never came into action. He brought six 3-pounders and eighteen gunners on to the field, designing to form three batteries before the centre of his army. But the battery on the right had not unlimbered when Argyll's right joined with Mar's left, and the guns of that battery, presumably, formed the two which Argyll brought to bear upon the Hill of Kippendavie after his return from the pursuit to Allen Water. The other two batteries were involved in the rout of Argyll's left before they had fired a shot.—Rae, *History*, 308. Mar had eleven cannon (Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 200), all of which he claimed to have brought off the field, except two, whose carriages broke down.—Patten, *History*, 168. But according to Rae (*History*, 308), six of Mar's guns were captured and brought into Stirling upon the day following the battle. Keith (*Memoir*, 20) states that five guns fell into Argyll's hands.

¹ They were a body of dragoons whom Argyll sent to bring off the wounded.—Patten, *History*, 160.

² Keith explains that it was impossible to contemplate any further movement against Argyll, since the Highlanders had lost their clothes, which, *more suo*, they had cast off as they advanced to battie on the 13th.—*Memoir*, 21.

Hamilton to march with the Horse and some of the Foot to *Perth*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, with the Clans, to Canton about that Place.

The Proceedings at Perth, 9.¹

My Lord *Mar* would have it be said that we had gain'd the Victory at *Dumblane*; it is true we were all of Opinion that the Duke of *Argyle* had no Pretence to it, and that at least he ought to have been content with calling it a *Drawn Stake*; but this bred nothing of Distaste among the Men, for the Fortune of the Field was what us Soldiers, every Man, was or ought to have been prepar'd for; but the Councils which were follow'd immediately after the Fight were so foolish and so weak as evidently disgusted us all, and shewed the Soldiers that they were under the Conduct of such Men whose Abilities for the Field were no way equal to what they had undertaken. . . .

General *Hamilton* . . . was for calling a great Council of War at *Tullibardine* . . . and he openly propos'd it, *viz.* to renew the Battle, to send Express to the Clans to join with all speed, to make *Chevaux de Friez* to cover themselves against the Horse, and to encamp for eight Days, in which Time, he said, we might joyn all our Troops together; as for the Duke

¹ *A True Account of the Proceedings at Perth; the Debates in the Secret Council there; with the Reasons and Causes of the suddain breaking up of the Rebellion. Written by a Rebel* [Lond. 1716]. *Vide infra*, p. 362.



THE SHERIFFMUIR MEDAL

of *Argyle* he had none to joyn ; and if it was not a Victory now, we ought to fight him once a Week till we made it a Victory ; and that if we did so, tho' *Argyle* was to have such a Victory every Time, he would be ruin'd and the Country would be open to us.¹

But . . . nothing was resolv'd on, and it seem'd to us that [Mar and his Council] had agreed upon other Measures before, and now they gave it out that they would not make any Motion with the whole Army till the Ch[evalier] should arrive, who, we were told, would bring with him the *Irish* Brigade who serv'd in *France*, with 8000 Men of the Duke of *Lorrain's*, who were rais'd in *France* out of the old Troops of the King of *France's* Houshold, which were Disbanded for that Purpose.

Some six weeks were yet to elapse before the Chevalier set foot in Scotland. But already his cause was hopeless in every quarter in which his adherents had risen. In October the attack upon Inveraray and the Western Highlands had been abandoned. Sheriffmuir, in itself a drawn battle, was in fact a victory for the Duke of Argyll, since it condemned Mar to weeks of further inactivity, and to the inevitable wastage of men which inactivity entailed upon a Highland army. Upon the very day on which Sheriffmuir was fought, the attempt to raise England ended in the disaster at Preston ; and, on November 10, the rising in the North of Scotland virtually terminated with the recapture of Inverness. The events which led up to the Government's success in the North of Scotland were as follows.

¹ Sinclair, also, commends Hamilton's conduct at this juncture. — *Memoirs*, 246.

Patten, *History*, 232.¹

On the 15th² of *September* the Laird of *Mackintosh*³ convened his Men at *Farr*, as was given out, to review them; but in the Evening he marched strait to *Inverness*, where he came by Sun-rising with Colours displayed, and after he had made himself Master of what Arms and Ammunition he could find, and some little Money that belonged to the Publick, proceeded to proclaim the *Pretender* King, under the Name of *James* the viiith of *Scotland*, and iiii of *England*. At this time *Jean Gordon*, Lady *Culloden*, found it absolutely necessary for the Safety of a great many of the King's Friends and their Goods to shut up the House of *Culloden*, where she had taken in great Store of Provision. Her Husband, then Member of Parliament, tho' at *London*, had some very good Arms in his House, and ordered One Hundred Men to be taken in, knowing that the Rebels could not omit to Garison it, being a very strong House, and so near *Inverness* that it hinder'd any to go or come from it on that side of the Water of *Ness*; which *M'Intosh* finding, sent a Message to the Lady to give up the House, but she refusing it, he went himself and spoke to the Lady over a Window, but to no purpose. She understood that

¹ Patten prints this narrative in his Appendix as 'The Lord *Lovatt's* Account of the taking of *Inverness*; with other Advantages obtain'd over the Rebels in the North of *Scotland*.'

² The 13th, according to *Rae*.—*History*, 328.

³ 'By the Instigation of his Friend, *M'Intosh* of *Borlam*.'—*Ibid.* 328.

there was no Means but the Rebels would use to have that House, which might be so troublesome to *Inverness* that now there was a Garrison of Four Hundred Men settled, of the name of *M'Kenzie* of *Coull*.¹

Upon the 20th of *September*, *M'Intosh* march'd with six Hundred Men, the first of all the Clans, towards the Earl of *Mar*, who then had set up the publick Standard of Rebellion. The want of Cannon was the only Thing that grieved the Lady *Culloden*; but being informed that there was a Merchant Ship lying in the Harbour of *Inverness*, which had six Guns on Board and a Number of Ball for them, she detached a Party of Fifty Men under Silence of the Night by Boats, who had the six Pieces of Cannon before it was Day mounted upon the House, to the great Surprize of the *Jacobites* in the Town, who look'd upon that Cannon as their Security.

While this loyal Lady was fortifying her House, she had the good Luck of being assisted by the Arrival of Mr. *Duncan Forbes*,² her Brother-in-law, who from that Time distinguished himself both by his Wit and Resolution, that if Things were acted by the Rebels according to the Hardiness expected from them, it might be improper to have such a

¹ Seaforth ordered the Mackenzies to garrison Inverness after Mackintosh had marched off to join Mar.—Rae, *History*, 329.

² He had come from Leith in the ship which brought the Earl of Sutherland to the North. The Earl reached Dunrobin Castle on September 28.—*Ibid.* 329.

Governor and Governess in one House, and some other Places not so well served.

The Earl of *Seaforth*, who was nominated Lieutenant-General and Commander in chief of the Northern Counties to his Majesty K. *James VIII.* (for so was the Designation then), was not idle, gathered his Men from the *Lewes* and all his Inland Country to the Place of *Brahan*, where Sir *Donald M'Donald* of *Slate* with 600 Men and the Laird of *M'Kinnon* with 150 join'd him. *Alexander M'kenzie* of *Frazerdale*, who assumed a Command of the Name of *Frazer* by his Lady, had forced together 400 of that Name, which, with the 100 Men that *Chisolme* (who is Vassal to that Family) had, made up 500 under *Frazerdale's* Command, which lay at and about *Castledouny*, five Miles from *Brahan* and six from *Inverness* : But the *Frasers* of *Struy*, *Foyer*, *Culduthell*, etc., kept the rest of that Name on Foot for the Government, having Assurance that the Lord *Lovat*, their natural Chief, was at *London*, firm for the Protestant Succession, and daily expected. This procured them not only the Ridicule but the Objects of the Rebels Threats. *Frazerdale*, finding his Party few to what he expected, resolv'd (if it was possible) to bring those Gentlemen into their Party, and so wrote to *Struy* and *Foyer* that he wanted much to meet with them in order to satisfy them with the Justice and Reasonableness of what they were to rise for, and that he hoped either he should satisfy them or that they would him.

The Gentlemen, upon his Letter, resolv'd to trust him and shew him freely that they would continue firm to the Protestant Succession as by Law establish'd: And having come with 150 Men near his House of *Castledouny*, they were told he was at *Brahan* with my Lord *Seaforth*, from whom they immediately receiv'd a Message by one *Donald M'urchison*, Factor to the Lord *Seaforth*, that he understood they had got in Arms, and that answerable to his Power as Lieutenant-General and Commander in chief of those Counties, he demanded them to join him and have themselves listed to serve his Majesty K. *James VIII.* To which they return'd Answer, That they were Protestants of the Low-Church, and that they would let his Lordship know so much whenever he pleased. But in the mean time that his Message was deliver'd them, he detach'd 600 Men commanded by *M'kenzie* of *Frazerdale*, *Aplecross*, and *Fairburn*, with an Order to take them dead or alive; but by good Luck it was one of the most boisterous Nights that could be, and when they came to the Place, they found that they had been apprized of their Coming and had got themselves in a Posture of Defence, which obliged them to return half-starv'd with Cold and Hunger. . . .

The Earl of *Sutherland*, who was sent down from Court to command in the North of *Scotland*, had got of the *Mackays*, *Rosses*, *Monroes*, and his own Men, 1800 together at a Place in *Ross* called *Alnes*,

and thought proper to divert *Seaforth* from joining *Mar*; that the King's other Friends in the North, who were in Readiness to join him if they could come together, they would have been able to give the Earl of *Seaforth*, or *Huntley*, or both, Battel: But *Seaforth*, finding himself 4000 strong, and *Sutherland* but 1800, thought it was fit to take the Advantage, and so march'd¹ directly towards *Alnes* where *Sutherland* lay; who found that by retiring to *Sutherland*, *Seaforth* would be for some Time diverted, and he would save his Men from fighting so unequally.² *Seaforth* coming to *Alnes*,³ which is the *Monroes* Country, allowed his Men to commit all the Barbarity that could be expected from *Turks*, destroy'd all the Corn and Cattle in the Country, took of every thing that was useful within as well as without Doors, lodg'd their Men in the Churches, where they kill'd Cattle and did every thing disrespectful to Places of Worship, and treated the Ministers, of all the People, the worst, took some Gentlemen Prisoners, and now believed that since *Sutherland* retired all the Cause was gain'd there.

Next Care was to come to *Inverness* and settle a stronger Garison in it, reduce the pitiful Whighouse Garisons, as they called *Culloden* and *Kill-*

¹ On October 9.—Rae, *History*, 330.

² He retreated towards Sutherlandshire, though he was opposed in that step by the Munroes and Mackays, who refused to follow him.—*Ibid.* 331.

³ On the day after Sutherland withdrew. *Seaforth* remained there till October 15.—*Ibid.* 331.

ravock Houses, and force all the silly People who stood out along with them.

Being come to *Inverness*, General *Seaforth* called a Council of War, where were present the Lord *Duffus*, Sir *Donald M'Donald*, *Frazerdale*, *M'Kinnon*, the *Chisolmes*, and several other Officers, besides Sir *John M'Kenzie* of *Coul*, the Governor, where it was resolved that *Culloden* House must be reduced at any Rate, and so commanded Mr. *George M'kenzie* of *Grumziord* to go with a Trumpet along with him and summon the House formally to surrender. Coming to the Place, *Grumziord* ordered the Trumpet to Sound, and called to Mr. *Duncan* who kept the House. Mr. *Forbes* not only told him but shewed him that the House was not in their Reverence, and so Defiance was returned for Answer. But in a second Council of War, the Lord *Duffus* was sent in order to reduce Mr. *Forbes* by Reason, or otherwise to-assure him of the hardest Treatment if the House was taken. But my Lord returned without Success, and so a Disposition was made for the Siege, and the Party for the Attack order'd; but finding that the House was strong, and the Governor and Garison obstinate and brave, after twelve Days Deliberation marched forward toward their Grand Camp at *Perth*. From *Inverness* they marched¹ to *Strath-Spey*, the Laird of *Grant's* Country, where they found the *Grants* all in Arms in order to secure their Country from harm; they only asked

¹ On October 24. —Rae, *History*, 332.

some Baggage Horses to the next Country, and Quarter'd their Men civilly, and returned the Horses home next Day; and so they joined the Earl of *Mar* at *Perth*, where they continued till the decisive Stroke of *Dumblain*, from whence they returned in a Hundred Parties, to the Satisfaction of many who were very careful of disarming them in their Retreat. But the four Hundred *Frazers* that Mr. *M'Kenzie* had brought there four Days before to *Dumblain* hearing that the Lord *Lovat* was come home, deserted that Cause, and came home full armed with their Affection to their Natural Chief; and their Love to the Protestant Interest, for which that Name distinguished themselves since the Reformation, was plainly seen in their Services thereafter till the Rebellion was extinguished.

On the 5th of *November* the Lord *Lovat* with Mr. *Forbes* of *Culloden* arrived at *Culloden's* House, from whence my Lord wrote to the Gentlemen of his Name that stood for the Government to come and receive him: *Ross* of *Killravock* and *Forbes* of *Culloden* conducted him with three Hundred Men by *Inverness*, near the Bounds of his own Country; he was informed that *M'Donald* of *Keppoch*¹ was marching with three Hundred Men to reinforce Sir *John M'Kenzie* of *Coull* at *Inverness*. My Lord had concerted with Captain *George Grant*, who then commanded that Name in Absence of his Brother *Ross* of *Killravock*, and *Forbes* of *Culloden*, that he

¹ Coll Macdonald, 'Coll of the Cows'; died 1723?

should go through all his Countries and get all his Men together, and that then they would invest *Inverness*. But finding now that *Kepoch* was on his March, resolved to intercept *Kepoch* in his Road, and so resolved to cross the River *Ness*; but just as he was ready to cross, he gets an Account that what were not marched to *Perth* of the *M'Intoshes* were in Arms, ready to go into *Inverness* and strengthen that Garison. Upon which, having consulted the Gentlemen that were with him, resolved to disperse those *M'Intoshes*, and so came directly on his Way to the Place where he heard they lay, and on his way found two or three of their chief Gentlemen, which bound themselves for the peaceable Behaviour of such as were at home, and that they would give up their Arms, and give in any thing they could afford in *Inverness*, when they were Masters of it. His Lordship, having on the 7th of *November* crossed the Water, resolved to throw himself in directly betwixt *Kepoch* and Sir *John*, who, hearing of his coming, resolved to sally out, and that *Kepoch* on one side and he on the other would attack him. But *Kepoch*, finding himself not safe to go forward, returned home by the Country of *Urquharts*, belonging to the Laird of *Grant*, where he did several Barbarities, and carried off three or four Gentlemen Prisoners, in hopes they would relieve themselves by a Booty, which they not yielding to, he dismissed in two or three Days. Upon News of *Kepoch's* sudden retiring, my Lord *Lovat*

marches strait to the Town of *Inverness*,¹ and in his Way found some Cows that belonged to the Garison kept by a Guard, which he took, and chased in one other Party to the Town. Having settled his Men within a Mile of the Town, ordered a Party to the side of the *Firth* to stop any Boats coming with any Succours of Men or Provisions to the Garison, and now he began to think that it was not reasonable to be idle a Minute, and so acquaints *Ross* of *Killravock* and *Forbes* of *Culloden*, who had the Town Blockaded on the East-side of *Ness*, that it was proper to attempt the Town, since the *Grants* were eight Hundred on their March.² Mr. *Duncan Forbes*, a Man that was most active in these Affairs, hardly giving himself Rest, was order'd to go and concert some things with my Lord *Lovat*; and *Arthur Ross*, Brother to the Laird of *Killravock*, a young Gentleman that had been Captive in *Turkey* for many Years before and but just come home, was order'd to cover Mr. *Forbes's* passing the River with a Party: He, finding the Rebels Guard relieving their Centinels by the River-side, pursued them so close to the heart of the Town, that entering the *Talbooth* Door, where the Governor had lodged himself with his Main Guard, he was by the

¹ He came before it on November 9, the day on which Mar's Council at Perth decided upon the advance to Sheriffmuir.—*Rae, History*, 332.

² According to the prearranged plan, Sutherland with the Mackays, Munroes, and Rosses was to invest Inverness on the north. They arrived too late, however.—*Ibid.* 333.

Centinel within shot through the Body, and thereafter he discharged two Pistols he had under his Sash among the Guard, and had they not crushed his Sword-Hand in forcing the Door close, he might have lived some longer time than he did, which was but about ten Hours.

At the Alarm of this Shooting, the whole Garison got to Arms, firing so from all Quarters that the six or seven Men that came up with Mr. *Ross* had very good luck to escape. The Death of this gallant Gentlemen so vex'd my Lord his Brother and all his other Friends, that they swore Revenge of his Blood, and accordingly summoned the Town to send out their Garison and Governor, or if they did not, they would burn the Town and put them all to the Sword. The Governor, expecting no great Favour from East or West-side, was in a Surprize. My Lord ordered all the Men to be ready,¹ which the Governor finding, on *Saturday* the tenth of *November* got together all the Boats he could find, and with high Water made off with all imaginable Confusion, to the Joy and Grief of the sundry Parties within. *Ross* of *Kilravock* and *Colloden's* Men lay at and about *Colloden*, the eight Hundred *Grants* to the Westward of them two Miles, and the Lord *Lovat*, who had got of his Name five Hundred together on the North and

¹ *Lovat* took post at the west end of the Bridge. Captain George Grant was upon the south side, to enter the Castle street, and the Moray-shire men, to the number of about three hundred, were to attack the East Port.—Rae, *History*, 333.

West-side of the Town, marched all in, having prepared Bullets [? Billets] for their Men. They now found it convenient to let the Earl of *Sutherland* know they had the Town: And his Lordship, receiving my Lord *Lovat's* Letter, returned him a very kind Letter, wherein he was glad his Lordship by his Conduct and Diligence was sufficiently entitled to the King's Favour, and that none would more truly represent it than he.

At this time the Earl had got together his Men and the others that were with him in *Ross*, and was to march forward to join that considerable Body that were then together at *Inverness*: His Lordship, being thirty six Miles from *Inverness*, marched his Men, being a considerable Number, to the Western Division of *Ross*, where they encamped, and his Lordship, with the Lord *Rae*,¹ *Monro* of *Fouls*, and several other Gentlemen came into *Inverness* on *Tuesday* the [15]th of *November*; which Day we had the joyful News of his Grace the Duke of *Argyle's* Victory at *Dumbliain*, which was observed with great Solemnity of Joy; and two Days thereafter, having left Colonel *Robert Monro* of *Fouls* Governor of *Inverness* there with a suitable Party, the Earl of *Sutherland* with his Men, and the Lord *Lovat* with a part of his Men, went to the Place of *Brahan*,² and

¹ George Mackay, third Baron Reay; died 1748.

² They marched out of *Inverness* on *November* 19, having fortified the Castle with some cannon which they had taken from a ship in the harbour.—*Rae, History*, 334.

obliged all the responsible Men of the *M'Kenzie's* that were not with my Lord *Seaforth* at *Perth*, to secure their peaceable Behaviour, and return the Arms taken from the *Monro's* by my Lord *Seaforth* before, and release the Prisoners, and that they would not assist my Lord *Seaforth* directly or indirectly, and that they would answer to his Lordship of *Sutherland* any Sum of Money he required for the use of the Government upon a due Advertisement, and that the Lord of *Seaforth's* House of *Braham* would be made a Garison for his Majesty King *George*.

Things being put in this order in that Country, the *Monroe's* being left at *Inverness*, the Earl of *Sutherland* marched with his Men, the *Frazer's*, the *M'Kay's*, the *Ross's*, *Killravock's* Men, *Culloden's*, and Sir *Archibald Campbell*, Tutor of *Calder*, with a Party of two Hundred to *Murray*, to bring that Country's Disaffection to good Order, and divert my Lord *Huntley* from crossing the River *Spey*,¹ who made the Rocks in that Country resound his Resolutions, having got, as he gave out, new Orders and a Detachment sent with General *Eclin* to him from *Perth*: But they were not long in that Country when things were put in that Condition that the Earl of *Sutherland* came back to *Inverness*, and left the Lord *Lovat*, *Killravock*, Sir *Archibald Campbell*, etc., behind, to act as he directed them

¹ This was in December, after Huntly had left the camp at Perth. *Vide infra*, p. 329.

and as Matters required. The *Murray Jacks* being put in pretty good Order, the King's Authority own'd over all the Country, it was thought proper to send *Hugh Frazier* of *Foyer* to *Stirling*, to let the Duke of *Argyle* know how Matters stood, and receive his Grace's Command. The whole Country betwixt *Fort-William* and *Aberdeen* being in the Rebels Hands except *Murray* and *Strath Spey* . . . he went forward for *Dunstaffnage*, and from thence to . . . *Stirling*, where he arrived the 17th of *December*, and was introduced to his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*. . . .

During this time the Earl of *Seaforth* was not idle, having got his Men that scatter'd at *Dumblain* together near *Brahan*.¹ . . . The Earl of *Sutherland*, hearing that the Highlanders that run home from *Dumblain* were to be at a Head and join *Seaforth*, marched with his own Men, my Lord *Rae's* Men, the *Monroes*, and the *Rosses*, of each but Parties, made up 800; 200 of the *Grants*, *Culloden* and the *Frazers*, making up the rest of 800, lay at *Bewley* near *Lovat*, within four Miles of *Seaforth's* Camp, whose Boasting surpassed Rehearsal. The Earl, my Lord *Lovat*, and the other Gentlemen, being moved by their Menaces, resolve to give them Battle. . . . The People, being all found well resolv'd and chearful, were put in order for the Diversion; which when my Lord *Seaforth* saw, he thought con-

¹ The operations described in the text took place about the middle of December.—*Rae, History*, 335.

venient to Capitulate, own the King's Authority, disperse his Men, and propose the Mediation of these Government Friends for his Pardon.¹ . . .

Tho' the King's Order was sent down for taking the *Mac Kenzie's* Arms and *Seaforth's*, having the Liberty of the Town of *Inverness*, the Hopes of the Pretender's Cause taking Life again made him defer coming in from Day to Day, till it was found out again that he designed to rise yet a-new: While in these middle of the Hopes, the main Chance was blasted, the Duke of *Argyle* marched from *Stirling* towards *Perth*, the Pretender not only abandon'd *Perth* but the whole Cause, left some of his Worthiest Friends untaken leave of, and the rest all at the Mercy of the Enemy.

But to return to the Earl of Mar's position at Perth:—

*Mar's Journal.*²

Amongst many good qualitys the Highlanders have one unlucky custom not easy to be reform'd,

¹ Seaforth's submission took place before January 1, 1716, on which day Sutherland returned to Inverness. The Chevalier had arrived in Scotland on December 22, and upon hearing of his arrival, Seaforth again raised his men.—Rae, *History*, 336.

² *A Journal of the Earl of Marr's Proceedings, from his first arrival in Scotland to his embarkation for France. Printed in France by order of the Earl of Marr* [Lond. 1716]. The *Journal* is also printed in the Appendix to Patten's *History*, at pp. 201 *et seq.* With textual differences, it is the same as a pamphlet entitled *A Letter from an Officer in the King's Army, after it had march'd northward from Aberdeen, to his friend at London, February 171⁵/₈* [n.p. 1716].

which is, that generally after an action they return home. Accordingly a great many went off after the late battle of Shirifmoor, so that the Duke of Mar, not being in a condition to pursue the advantage he had by it, was forc'd to return to Perth, waiting there not without impatience, both for the return of the Highlanders, and for the money, armes, and amunition he had so often ask'd and still expected from abroad. But the Highlanders, heareing nothing of the King or Duke of Berwick's coming nor of the supplys, did not return to the Army as they had promis'd. And the Gentlemen of the Army, who had been long from home, liveing still at their own charge, which they could not well longer support, went also mostly home, some without leave, and others after asking a leave which the Duke of Mar saw well enough would be to no purpose to refuse.¹ Some indeed never thought of quitting the Army, and others return'd soon to it, but our number was never again near so great as it had been before the battle. About this time we had the news of the fatal affaire of Preston, which was no small discouragement to the Army; so that some, who had been caballing privately before, began then to speak openly of capitulating with the Enemy, and found others more easily to joyne with them.²

¹ Some went away to bring back their men, and others in order to raise recruits.—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 244, 258.

² Disputes on this matter reached their height over Mar's proposed 'Association.' *Vide infra*, p. 326.

We had at the same time another piece of bad news, which was, that Simon Fraser of Beauford (by some call'd Lord Lovat) had join'd Lord Sutherland, and that they, with the help of some other disaffected people thereabouts, had retaken Inverness. Upon this news, most of the name of Fraser, who had join'd the King's Army with Fraserdale, went now away and joyn'd Beauford or Lord Lovat their Chief.

This oblig'd the Duke of Mar to send Lord Seaforth north to get his men together, who had mostly return'd home after the battle, and in conjunction with the King's friends in that Country, to endeavour to recover Inverness.¹ . . .

After this some, tho' but few, were discover'd to have private dealings with the Enemy, and some others went home and never return'd to the Army, but a good number of the Noblemen and Gentlemen and all the heads of the Clanns still remain'd with the Army at Perth.²

Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 251.

[We] were not long in our old quarters [at Perth] when the bad news of our friends misfortune at Preston was brought us. . . . In a day or two

¹ Seaforth returned to Inverness a few days after the battle of Sheriffmuir. He had been with Mar only about a week.—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 243.

² Among those who remained, Sinclair mentions in particular, Sir Donald Macdonald, Glengarry, Ranald Macdonald of Clanranald, Sir John Maclean, Lochiel, and Appin.—*Memoirs*, 258.

the melanchollie account was confirmed from all hands. I never expected better; it was not to be imagin'd that a handfull of raw, undisciplined men, without armes, care, or thought, could marche so far into a countrie, without anie man of authoritie or knouledge at their head, without falling into a snare. . . .

Those of Preston being reduced, some regiments of dragoons were order'd from thence to Stirveling, and we had the accounts of the Dutch troopes being imbarckt for Scotland,¹ and that artillerie was shipt in at London to be made use of against us at Pearth, where we were verie calme, the thirteen of November haveing been the day of the crisis of our great feaver. One might imagine that all this storm threatning to break upon us at a time when we were abandoned by all the world, and even by our own Highlandmen, of whom we had not above a thousand remaining, and no hopes of haveing them back again . . . that gentlemen of numerous families and estates would now open their eyes and see their ruine inevitable, except they fell on some suddain expedient to avert it. No! . . . We were

¹ The regiments of Newton and Stanhope set out from Preston about November 27, and reached Glasgow on December 19. At about the same time, six thousand Dutch auxiliaries arrived in Scotland.—Rae, *History*, 327. The Dutch troops came in accordance with an article in the Treaty guaranteeing the Protestant succession in Great Britain. Horace Walpole had been despatched to the Hague to demand them.—Mahon, *History of England*, vol. i. 227.

all merrie, expecting the King everie minute, and yet we had not at that time the least account of him . . . nor so much as a scrape of a pen from Collonell Hay, and Doctor Abercrombie, Sir John Areskine, and Charles Forbes, who we had sent to France. In a word, the King's comeing alone was enough to recover all, and with that enthusiastick cant did we please ourselves. . . .

After our returne to Pearth . . . the Duke of Athole's vassalls would no more obey the Marquise of Tullibardine or his brother Lord George, his Grace haveing takne care to shew them where all was goeing; and the loss of their friends at Prestone,¹ who they lookt on as alreadie hang'd by following the orders of Tullibardine, stun'd them. . . . The Laird of Weems' vassalls who had joyned Struan were nou more against than for us, and Struan's, betuixt the Duke of Athole and Weems, durst not move tho' they'd had a mind. [Stewart of] Garn-tullie's vassalls were in the same apprehensions of the Duke of Athole.

Not to goe further into that detaile, betuixt exemple, fear, and the inclination the whole had to stay at home, the tide turned upon us, oueing in a great measure to the influence the Duke of Athole had on his neighbourhood; for of those who Mar called his oun vassalls and run away before we came out of Pearth, of that hundred men, for that was all, not one ever came back to us. Nobodie

¹ Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray, and their followers.

ever pretended Drummond's would, for Lord Strathallen and Logie, who had given him the name of their folks, were now prisonners, and neither his Lordship of Drummond's own or their's would stir at this time, not being Highlandmen, and only forced out in the beginning by Tullibardine, and had not stay'd longe with us. . . . Bredalbine's three hundred men were on the same foot with the rest, they were gone home; and his Lordship, too cunning not to see through the whole affair, we could never promise much on his friendship. . . .

While in this state, Keppoch (1), a Highland Chief, and vassall, or rather tennant of Huntlie's, came to Pearth with tuo hundred and fourtie men. He had never been with us before; but hearing of a battle, and that there was plunder, got his men together² and robbed the other Highlandmen who were goeing home stragling with the pillage of our baggage and what they had takne out of the Low Countrie, and haveing secured it, he and his folks took ane itching to see that countrie where so many good things were got, being so often invited, and being told before he left home that we were in a very good condition,

(1) The MacDonalds of Keppoch were always a very independent and untameable Clan. . . . Like their neighbours the Camerons, they were considered as particularly addicted to depredation on their neighbours, and claimed as an honour the character which others, and Lowlanders especially, imputed to them as a reproach.—Sir Walter Scott's note.

² *Vide supra*, p. 312.

haveing banged the ennemie. . . . Colin Simpson, who had the delivering of the bread, told me Mar had ordered him to give him [Keppoch] bread for five hundred if he called for it, and by no means to stand with him, and please him at any rate. The leader stay'd and receaved a good pay, but the men went home, the greatest part of them, in a few days after, and not longe ere all were gone, took what they liked best on the road that they might not return emptie handed.

The reports of the Duke of Argyle's paying us a visit terriefied from time to time;¹ but when these went over, we knew to make some pleasant lye succeed to them, which again elevated our spirits. To make all readie for our retreat, we had sent the horse to cantoon over the Tay in the Carse of Gourie. . . . The French dancing master was still at work [on the fortifications of Perth], but never advanced, and did not compleat one part of his lignes, which, if he had, would have been to no purpose as they were contrived. . . .

While we were languishing and falling out of one fainting fit into another . . . Huntley communicated to me and told me he had seen the forme of ane

¹ Argyll, like Mar, lay inactive during the weeks which followed Sheriffmuir. However, he bombarded the Jacobite garrison at Burntisland, and took possession of the place on December 19. Its evacuation was followed by that of other Jacobite positions on the Fifeshire coast. Shortly after, the Duke sent Colonel Cathcart to occupy Dunfermline.—Rae, *History*, 338. Cf. Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 331.

Association that Mar designed to steale in upon us that evening. . . . Without any further adverticement, it was given out in orders at three of the clock that all Lords, Commanding Officers of everie Corps, Chiefs of Clans, with one of the most considerable gentlemen of everie countie, should be at Mar's quarters before five of the clock that night. . . .

No sooner we were met then Mar threw down tuo draughts of ane Association on the table, telling us that it was thought fit by those who knew our present circumstances, that we should enter into new tyes and bonds oblidgeing us never to desert one another, and that the verie shew and appearance of unanimitie and firmitie, as things stood, would be of no small consequence to us, and for that reason had called us to signe either of these tuo draughts of ane Association, which he order'd to be read, and begged of them not to shew the least mark of disunion, since the ennemie must certainlie know all that passed there.¹ . . .

¹ Sinclair's long account of the matter amounts to this: that Mar wished to counteract the influence of that party among his followers which regarded the further remaining in arms a hopeless enterprise. Of that party, Sinclair and Huntly were the leaders. Huntly was suspected, probably on good grounds, of a desire to make a separate peace in order to save his northern estates from the Earl of Sutherland, though Sinclair, to whom the Earl Marischal communicated that as Mar's reason in proposing the Association, denied the truth of it. *Vide Sinclair, Memoirs, 274 et seq.*

We¹ agreed that nixt day, Major Balfour, Sir James Kinloch, and Mr. Ogilvie, should aske leave to speak to Mar in the name of a great many gentlemen of distinction; which Mar granted. To be short . . . they proposed a capitulation in the name of the whole: And his Lordship ansuering, You can't get it; it was said, It will be no small satisfaction to be sure of that, and then we'll know what to expect, and nothing can sement us so stronglie as a refusall [from the Duke of Argyll] of that kind. . . . Mar askt, What should become of the King? They ansuer'd, His Lordship could solve that question better than they, for they knew nothing about him, nor what had or what would become of him, they hoped he was well and would continue so, but that neither they nor his Lordship, they believed, expected him. . . . And Mar, being hard pressed by them, and heated and in confusion, own'd to them he wisht the King would not come, and that he had sent to stop him. . . .

Our three Deputees returned to Mar in the morning, and his Lordship proposed Collonell Laurence² as the fittest man to be sent to the Duke of Argyle, and said, It would be the gaining of time

¹ Sinclair and the 'mutineers.' Though Sinclair does not mention the fact, he and Lord Rollo had before November 27 made private overtures to the Duke of Argyll. *Vide* Lord Townshend's letter to the Duke, in Mahon, *History of England*, vol. i. App. p. xlix.

² Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Lawrence, of Montague's regiment, had been made prisoner at Sheriffmuir.—Patten, *History*, 163.

to send him, because if they imployed any other they must first send a trumpet to get a safe conduct. Mr. Ogilvie, Major Balfour, and [Smith of] Methvin¹ . . . came and told us of the proposale. It was a surprise to hear that Mar, who had been so much against the thing before, appear'd all of a suddain to shew us the most expeditious way of doing what we were so fond of; it put us on doubting and diving into the advantages Mar could reap from such a choice. . . . The result was, that . . . Laurence was dispatched with offers of a submission, provided the Duke of Argyle had power to give us such a capitulation as could secure our lives and fortunes. He returned next day late and went to Mar, to whome he made the report. . . . His Grace of Argyle bid him tell us, He'd imploy his influence at Court to get a capitulation, and was to send one to London for that purpose, who, Laurence said, was my Lord Roxbourough; and Argyle further promised, When he got a return, he'd let them know.

[Very shortly after these events,] Huntlie was to leave Pearth . . . being everie day more and more urged to goe North by letters from thence, to put a stop to Southerland's progress, who had been at Elgine, within six miles of his house, with fifteen hundred men, and was to be supposed would not be longe of guarnisoneing his houses and dis-

¹ He had taken Sir James Kinloch's place, Mar having refused to meet the latter, whose outspoken language he resented.—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 286, 292.

arming his tennants and vassalls, who could not be got together without his own presence ; which if he did not give a check to in time, there was nothing to hinder Southerland to cut off our communication from all the sea-coast towns, and attack ourselves at Pearth with ane armie four or five times greater than ours ; for his numbers must have suelled on the road, where there were enough disaffected to us in that longe tract who might readilie joyn the gaineing side. . . .

Huntlie went North a day or tuo after his appointed time,¹ and I . . . designed to follow him, haveing given so much umbrage that I could be of no further use to the cause, which now was not onlie desperate but sunk. . . .

But to return to Castle Gordon, where I then was. My Lord Huntlie received tuo letters ; one from Collonell Hay, and another from Mar. The Collonell's, on his return from France, gave him assurances of the King's landing in a few days. . . . Mar ended [his] letter in saying that . . . the King would be soon with us, and by his presence all our wants would be made up. . . .

Before these had come to Huntlie, the King was already landed at Peterhead, the tuentie [-second] day of [December].

The Proceedings at Perth, 5.

It is useful that I give a brief Account of the

¹ He had arrived at Castle Gordon by December 25.—Sinclair, *Memoirs*, 324.

Arrival of the Person in whose Name this Commotion was raised and carried on. We had long been impatient for his coming into *Scotland*, and when many had given him over, and some were gone Northward in Discontent occasioned by Delay, on a sudden we were told he had appear'd at Sea in the *Offing* about the Height of *Montrose*, and had made the Signals¹ and passed by. This News was brought by Express from Montrose, and filled all his Friends with incredible Joy; the Soldiers, who had been told of great Forces that were to come with him, were particularly encourag'd with the News, and promised themselves great Things, not doubting but there was a great Fleet with him, little thinking that this great Monarch, as we thought him, and all his Foreign Troops were embark'd in one small Ship of less than 200 Tun Burthen. . . . He was now arriv'd on the Coast, and when he came to the Height of *Montrose*, as above, thought

¹ On October 7, anticipating the Chevalier's arrival upon the western coast, Mar had issued the following order from Perth:—

'Signals upon the West Coast.

A White Flag on any of the Topmast-heads, pulled up and down for several Times; and the Answer from the Shore, a white Cloth shown on the nearest Eminence.

Upon the Signal, a Boat to be sent off, and the Word from the Boat, *Lochaber*.

The Answer from the Ship, *Lochyeal*.

The People who make the Signal, to know of Horses and Carriages.

If any Ship be seen chas'd, Boats to be immediately sent off.'
—*A Collection of Original Letters*, 57.

to have Landed there; but a Ship appearing as Cruising near the Coast, it was taken for an *English* Man of War, which caused them to stand off to Sea, steering Northward till Evening, when making Land again, they resolved to run *right in for the Shore*, be it what part it would. This took up most of the Night, and before Day they found themselves opposite to *Aberdeen*, a calm Night and a clear Sea, that is to say, clear of Enemies; and finding that they had the Command of the Shore, so that if they had spied a Sail they might Land any where before an Enemy could have come up, Upon this Assurance they kept on till they came fair with *Peter-head*, a Promontory near to *Aberdeen*, and standing in, they Mann'd out their Boats and landed the Ch[evalier] with about Thirty Four Gentlemen and their Attendants.

Mar's Journal.

There remains yet to answer one question which you may naturally ask, as most people do, on this subject, and that is, *Why the King delay'd his coming so long?*

To answer this question to your satisfaction I must tell you that I have what I shall here relate from persons of unquestionable veracity, who were then upon the place, eye and ear Witnesses of what past, and so you may safely rely upon it.

You have certainly heard what was generally said of the King's sister's [Queen Anne] intentions towards him whilst she was in possession of his

Throne:¹ But whatever there was of truth in that, what I am well assur'd of is, that his Majesty was at last so little satisfied with what was said to him from thence, that he was fully resolv'd whilst she was yet alive to have gone into Scotland, and in order to that, had already prepared a Declaration or Manifesto to have been there published upon his arrival.

How he was hinder'd from putting this design in execution by some real friends that were themselves impos'd upon, and by other pretended friends who were at bottom real Enemys, is a mistery which time may discover.

¹ There is some ground for believing that the visit of the Chevalier to Queen Anne, as recorded in Thackeray's *Esmond*, did in fact take place, but in 1702 and not in 1714, at the time of her coronation and not immediately before her death. Mr. F. H. Groome has drawn my attention to the following evidence which appears to support the conclusion that the Chevalier visited England as a lad of fifteen in 1702. In the *Reliquiæ Hernianæ*, vol. i. 240, under the date October 23, 1711, is this statement: 'Mr. Giffard told us last night (when several of us were in company, all honest men) that the young king (king James III.d) was in England when the present queen (as she is styled) his sister was crowned, and he further says, that the queen kissed him at that time, he being present at the coronation. *This is a great secret.*' John Macky, the spy, corroborates the statement that the Chevalier was in London at that time. In his *Journey through England* [fifth edition, 1732], vol. i. 200, he declares that the Chevalier stayed *incognito* with the Duc d'Aumont at Somerset House. It will be remembered that a by no means well authenticated tradition holds that Prince Charles, in later times, was also present at the coronation of his rival. It is possible that the tradition grew out of a similar episode in his father's early years.

Upon the first news of his Sister's death the King immediatly took post, resolv'd to endeavour at any rate to get into some part of his Dominions, but was stopt by these who had Power to do it effectually. Being then forc'd back to Lorraine, he made and publish'd his Protestation, which 'tis likely you have seen, and which I can assure you was drawn entirely by himself.

From that time, as before, his Majesty had nothing in his thoughts but how and when he could assert his own Right and deliver his People. He saw little ground to hope for succour from any foreign Prince, and had only the affections of his people and the advice of his friends on this side the water to rely upon : their interest seem'd now more than ever link'd to his, and they being on the place, and consequently best able to judge of the fittest time for his coming to them, it must be allow'd that it had no ways been prudent nor adviseable in him to act contrary to their opinion. And yet it is most certain that it was onely by his Majestie's following their advice, contrary to his own judgment and inclination, that so much time was lost. Some of them in England insisted on haveing a certain number of Regular Troopes to make head at first, without which they said nothing was to be attempted ;¹ and tho the King sent them word over and over, that after all the endeavours he could

¹ *Vide* Bolingbroke's letter to Mar on this matter, dated September 20, 1715, in Mahon, *History of England*, App. p. xix.

use he found it absolutely impossible to obtaine any Troops, yet they persisted for several Months in the opinion, and by that means the most favourable time the King ever had was lost. Other friends there pretended that the dispositions of the people would still grow more favourable towards him, and that there was no danger but advantage by delaying.

Thus, tho' the King had several times fix'd a day for his departure, he was still forc'd to delay that he might not act contrary to the advice of his friends, and at another time because he found his Enemys had discover'd his design and taken infallible measures to intercept him. But as soon as the King's friends began to see and own the mistakes they had been in, his Majesty, without any regard to the many dangers he had to go thorough, set out from Commercy the 28th of October, and went inognito through a great part of France to the coast of Brittany; and to avoid falling into the hands of many that were lay'd upon the common roads to intercept him, he was oblig'd to cross the Country through by-ways with onely three people with him. His design was to go to England if things appear'd favourable there, or if they did not, to go to Scotland.

When the King arriv'd at St. Malos, he found the Duke of Ormond return'd from the coast of England, to which he had gone some days before in hopes to have found friends ready to joyn him; but that haveing fail'd by some accidents of dis-

coveries, he was forc'd to return.¹ Upon this the King resolv'd to go into Scotland, and it not being thought safe for him to go through the Brittish Channel, he had been advis'd to go round Ireland, and by a message from his friends in Scotland it was propos'd to him to land at Dunstaffnage, which was at that time in their possession ; but soon after, the Enemys came to be masters of it, by the Clans not performing what they were charg'd with in Argile Shire, as is above mention'd. The King's friends immediatly inform'd him of this change by a second message. And this confirm'd his Majesty in the resolution he had himself before taken of changing all his measures, and in place of taking that long tedious way, which was indeed the safest, to take a much Shorter, tho a more dangerous way for being intercepted by the Enemy's Ships. He sent therefore immediatly to prepare a Small Ship privatly for him at Dunkirk, which was accordingly done, tho not without difficulty.

He was now a second time oblig'd to traverse a great part of France, and that on horse back, in the very coldest time of this hard and severe winter, expos'd to greater danger than in the first, from the greater number of those who lay in wait for him on all the great Roads, which obliged him to travel by unfrequented Routs, where there was bad enough accommodation; and yet all this time in that terrible

¹ Cf. Mahon, *History of England*, vol. i. 213, and Bolingbroke's letter to the Chevalier, in *Ibid.* App. p. xxxi.

cold he never had the least ailment or indisposition.

It was about the middle of December, our stile, before the King could reach Dunkirk.¹ He was there inform'd that there was a man of war then lying in that very road, and that there were a great many more cruiseing on the Coasts of France, England, and Scotland, all of them in wait for him. But his Majesty, without any regard to these dangers, went immediatly on board his small Ship² with onely three servants, and conducted by good Providence, arriv'd safe at Peterhead, where he landed the 22 of December, old stile.³

Rae, *History*, 351.

[The Chevalier] being come on Shore . . . the Ship immediatly returned for *France* with the News of his safe Arrival, and Lieutenant *Cameron* [who had come from France with him] was sent Express to *Perth*, where he arriv'd on the 26th [of December], with the acceptable Tidings to the Earl of *Mar*, who presently mounted with the Earl *Marischal*, General

¹ 'Having lurked some Days [before] in several Ports on the Coasts of *Britany*, in the Habite of a Mariner.'—Rae, *History*, 351.

² 'A *French Ship*, formerly a Privateer, of 8 Guns, well mann'd and arm'd.'—*Ibid.* 351.

³ The ship sailed first towards 'Tetneuse' in Norway, and then altering her course, steered towards Scotland, and arrived at Peterhead after a seven days' voyage.'—*Ibid.* 351. Three letters of the Chevalier to Bolingbroke written on the day of and shortly after his arrival, which express his hopes and fears, are in Mahon, *History*, App. pp. xxxiv.-xxxix.

Hamilton, and 20 or 30 Persons of Quality on Horsback, and set out from thence with a Guard of Horse to go and attend him. The *Pretender* and his five Companions having lodged one Night in the Habite of Sea-Officers at *Peterhead*, and another at *Newburgh*, a House of the Earl of *Marischal*, on the 24th they passed *incognito* thro' *Aberdeen* with two Baggage Horses, and at Night came to *Fetterosse*, the principal Seat of the Earl of *Marischal*, where he stay'd till the 27th, when the Earl of *Mar*, *Marischal*, and *Hamilton* came up to wait on him. Having dress'd and discover'd himself, they all Kiss'd his Hand and own'd him as King; there-after they caus'd Proclaim Him at the Gates of the House; then General *Hamilton* was sent over to *France* to sollicite Supplies for his Service.

He design'd to pursue his Journey next Day towards *Perth*; but he was seized with an aguish Distemper, which detain'd him for some Days at *Fetterosse*: During which Time, his *Declaration*¹ dated at *Commercy* was dispersed and published in several places under his Influence, and Copies of it were dropt in the Night Time in the Streets of some Loyal Cities and Towns, where His Friends and Adherents durst not publish it otherwise.² . . .

¹ It is printed in *A Collection of Original Letters*.

² On December 29, at Fetteresso, the Chevalier received Addresses from the Episcopal clergy and Magistrates of Aberdeen. —Rae, *History*, 352, 354. The authorities of Marischal College, Aberdeen, also presented an Address. Vide Terry, *The Rising of 1745*, p. 228.

The *Pretender* being recover'd of his aguish Dis-temper, which had detain'd him at *Fetterosse*, went from thence to *Brechin* on *Monday* the 2d of *January* [1716]; he stayed there till *Wednesday*, when he came to *Kinnaird*; on *Thursday* to *Glames*; and on *Friday*, about Eleven a Clock in the Morning, he made his Publick Entry on Horseback into *Dundee*, with a Retinue of about 300 Men on Horseback, having the Earl of *Mar* on his Right, and the Earl of *Marischal* on his Left. His Friends desiring it, he continued about an Hour on Horseback in the Market-Place, the People kissing his Hand all the while, and then he went and dined at *Stuart* of *Garntully's*, where he also lodged that Night. On *Saturday* he went from *Dundee* to *Castle-Lion*, a Seat of the Earl of *Strathmore's*, where he dined; and after, to Sir *David Triplin's*,¹ where he lodg'd; and on *Sunday* the Eight of *January* he arrived at *Scoon*, about two Miles from *Perth*. Upon *Monday* the 9th he made his Publick Entry into *Perth*, where he view'd some of the Soldiers Quartered in the Town who were drawn out for the Purpose, and return'd the same Night to *Scoon*.

The Proceedings at Perth, 15.

At the first News [of the Chevalier's arrival] it is impossible to express the Joy and Vigour of our Men [at Perth]: Now we hop'd the Day was come

¹ *i.e.* Threipland, of Fingask, Perthshire.

when we should live more like Soldiers, and should be led on to Face our Enemies, and not lie mouldring away into nothing, attending the idle Determinations of a disconcerted Council; but our Joy was very much abated when we came to hear that there was no troops arriv'd, only about Eighty Officers, which in Truth there was not by above half the Number.

We were indeed Buoy'd up with the Account spread abroad, that the Troops were shipping off, and might be expected in a very few Days, that the Ch—— being willing to encourage his Friends with his Presence, and eager to be at the Head of his Armies, could not be easie in staying any longer for the Shipping the Troops, but resolv'd, tho' with the extreme Hazard of his Person, to venture alone, and came away before. This Tale took pretty well, and we being willing to hope for the best, acquiesc'd, tho' we profess'd our selves to be very much disappointed. . . .

The Ch—— was Lodg'd at *Schone*, about two Miles from *Perth*, and they talk'd of Preparations for a Coronation, but I never found that he was in haste for the Ceremony; and I believe most firmly that he was not forward because he, I mean his Friends that he brought over with him, found from the beginning that *it would not do*, that the Foundation was ill laid and could not support him, and that he would be obliged to quit the Enterprize with Dishonour. However, the Coronation was much spoken

of,¹ the Place also seeming to concur happily with the Proposal, being the very Spot where all the antient Kings of *Scotland* were Enthron'd and Crown'd.

I had thought here to have set down my Observations at large of the Person who was then call'd King, and in whose Quarrel we were now in Arms; but I will not take that Freedom here as was intended, because I know not whether it may turn to Good or Ill, according as into whose Hands these Memoirs may happen to fall. However, in brief, his Person is tall and thin, seeming to encline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in Years. His Countenance is pale, and perhaps he look'd more pale by Reason he had three Fits of an Ague, which took him two Days after his coming on Shore; yet he seems to be Sanguine in his Constitution, and has something of a Vivacity in his Eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected Circumstances and surrounded with Discouragement, which it must be acknowledg'd were sufficient to alter the Complexion even of his Soul as well as of his Body; and I was told, that as soon as he was on Board the Ship which carried him away he spoke with a different Spirit, and discover'd such a Satisfaction as might well signify that he look'd upon himself before as a meer State VICTIM, appointed for a Sacrifice to expiate the Sins

¹ A proclamation was issued from Scone, appointing January 23 as the date of the Chevalier's coronation.—Rae, *History*, 360.

of other Men, and that he was escaped from certain Destruction. His Speech was Grave, and not very clearly expressing his Thoughts, nor over-much to the Purpose ; but his words were few ; his Behaviour and Temper seem'd always composed ; what he was in his Diversions we knew nothing of, for here was no room for those Things, it was no Time for Mirth, neither can I say that I ever saw him smile : Those who speak so positively of his being like King *James VII.* must excuse me for saying that it seems to tell me they either never saw this, or never saw King *James VII.* ; and yet I must not conceal that when we saw the Person who they called our King, we found our selves not at all animated by his Presence, and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him ; we saw nothing in him that look'd like Spirit ; he never appear'd with Chearfulness and Vigour to animate us : Our Men began to despise him ; some ask'd if he could Speak ; his Countenance look'd extremely heavy ; he car'd not to come Abroad among us Soldiers, or to see us handle our Arms or do our Exercise ; some said the Circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the Figure he made dejected us, and had he sent us but 5000 Men of good Troops and never come among us, we had done other Things than we have now done.

Rae, *History*, 361.

The Duke of *Argyle* [meanwhile] being assur'd that the last of the *Dutch* Troops were come past

the Borders in order to join him, and that the great Train of Artillery, which was ship'd off at *London* for this Expedition, was Wind-bound in the Mouth of the *Thames*, and seeing that the Season of the Year promis'd rather a continued Storm than any Hopes of a Change of Weather, and that the Circumstances of His Majesty's Affairs required all possible Dispatch, His Grace . . . upon *Wednesday* the 3d of *January* sent Brigadier *Petit*, a notable Engineer, and the Commissary of the *Scots* Field Train to *Edinburgh*, with express Orders to make up a Train of 12 Battering Guns of 18, 12, and 9 Pounds, and Six small Field Pieces of 6's and 4's from *Edinburgh* Castle and *Berwick*, to be added to the Six 3 Pounds formerly at the Camp at *Stirling*, with 4 Mortars and 2 Haubitizers, making in all 24 Piece of Cannon, 4 Mortars, and 2 Haubitizers ; And to hire out of the *Dutch* and *British* Troops such Men as had Skill in Gunnery, to the Number of 50, for Gunners and Matrosses, to be added to the old *Scots* Corps of Gunners then at *Stirling*, consisting of Twenty, with Power to appoint proper Officers. They were likewise ordered to get what Ammunition and other warlike Stores would be necessary for the said Train, and 9000 Men,¹ either for Siege or Battel, in Readiness with the utmost Expedition, together with pontoons for crossing Rivers, etc. ;

¹ Argyll's army, which was now about three times its strength at Sheriffmuir, included fourteen squadrons of horse and twenty battalions of foot, besides artillery.—Rae, *History*, 363.

which accordingly was fall'n about on the 4th with all possible Diligence. . . .

On the 21st of *January*, Colonel *Ghest* with 200 Dragoons was detached from *Stirling* to reconnoitre the Roads leading to *Perth*, which were covered with a very deep Snow, and to discover if possible the Posture of the Enemy. . . . His advancing so far as he did alarm'd the Enemy to that Degree as to put all the Town of *Perth* in a Hurry. . . . Nor was their Fright over till a Party of Horse being sent to *Tullibardine*, and from thence every Way to view the Roads, sent Word that all Things were quiet, and that no Enemy appeared. However, from this Time till the Rebels left *Perth*, there was nothing to be seen but planting of Guns, marking out Breast-Works and Trenches, digging up Stones in the Streets and laying them with Sand to prevent the Effects of a Bombardment, and in a Word, all possible Preparations were made as if they had really intended to defend the Place (tho' some think their Leaders had no such Design), insomuch that all our publick Accounts at that Time assur'd us, *That the Pretender and his People resolved to Fight His Majesty's Army.*

Soon after, the Duke of *Argyle* sent out General *Cadogan*¹ with a strong Detachment of Horse and Foot to take Post at *Dumblain*, and to send a Party

¹ He had been sent to Scotland owing to the Government's dissatisfaction at Argyll's dilatory movements.—Mahon, *History of England*, vol. i. 278.

to *Down* . . . and on the 24th his Grace march'd out to *Dumblain* with 200 Horse, and taking from thence General *Cadogan* with as many more, went to view the Roads as far as *Auchterarder*, and return'd at Night to their respective Quarters. This March put the Rebels into so great a Consternation that some of their smaller Garrisons abandon'd their Posts, and retired behind the River *Ern*: And many others of the Rebels repaired to the Banks of that River, where, they gave out, they were resolved to make a Stand and fight the King's Army commanded by the Duke of *Argyle*. And having Intelligence that His Grace had posted 3000 Men as his Advance-Guard at *Dumblain* and *Down*, they sent 3000 *Highlanders* of the Garrisons of *Braco*, *Tullibardine*, and other neighbouring Garrisons, who, pursuant to the *Pretender's* Orders¹ . . . burnt the 'Towns and Villages of *Auchterarder*, *Crieff*, *Blackfoord*, *Dunning*, and *Muthel*, with what Corns and Forrage they could not carry off: Whereby the Poor Inhabitants were expos'd to the open Air in that stormy Season, and 'tis said, some poor decripted People and Children, who could not get fast enough out, were smother'd in the Flames.

¹ This order was signed on January 17.—Rae, *History*, 360. The author of the *Proceedings at Perth* remarks (p. 23): 'Nor was this Severity to be blamed in us if our Resolution to defend our selves had held; for as it was, it put the National Army to very great Extremities, some of the Troops [when they advanced upon Perth] having no Lodging but upon the Snow for two or three Nights, nor any covering but, as the French say, *Sou les Belles Estoielles*, under the most glorious Stars.'

*The Burning of Auchterarder.*¹

Upon Tuesday the 24th of January 1715-16, a Detachment of the Clans of betwixt five and six hundred men did . . . march from Perth about nine a Clock at night. This Detachment consisted of Sr Donald M'Donald's, Clan Ranald's, Glengarie's, Lochyell's, Appin's, M'cleans, and Cappoch's men, under the respective Officers of their own Clans, but commanded in chiefe by Clan Ranald,² Brother and Successor to him who was kill'd at the Battle of Sherrifmoor. . . .

Clanranald, coming to Octerarder upon Wednesday the 25th of January about 4 in the morning, found every body fast asleep. Sentries were placed, and all precautions taken by him that no intelligence might be carry'd to the King's Forces, of whom they falsely supposed a party to be within two miles.

Then Parties were ordered to every House in the Town to let none stirr out of doors, which they broke open without allowing any body time to put on their Cloaths. . . .

Betwixt nine and tenn, a party of about two or three hundred of the Rebells Foot, with some few Horsemen (not of the Clans), march'd by Clanranald's order for Blackfoord, a Country Town two

¹ *Accounts of the Burning of the Villages of Auchterarder, Muthill, Crieff, Blackford, Dalreoch, and Dunning*: Printed in the Maitland Club's *Miscellany* [Edin. 1843], vol. iii. 450-74.

² Ranald Macdonald; died 1725?

miles to the westward of Octerarder on the road to Stirling. . . .

This being done, he [Clanranald] gave publick orders in these words, GO AND BURN ALL THE HOUSES IN THE TOWN, SPARE NONE EXCEPT THE CHURCH AND MRS PATERSON'S.

This Mrs Paterson's was the house where the Jacobites kept their Conventicles during the time of the late Ministry and before the Rebellion. . . .

Such as heard these orders run to their houses to throw out their goods, but their houses being almost all at the same time invested and set on fire, it was little they could get thrown to the doors, and what was, was immediately snatch'd up and plunder'd by the Rebels, being it was with great difficulty they could save their children and infants. . . .

Clanranald now, seeing every house on fire and many of the best fall'n down, rode along the streets, conven'd his men and march'd. All the way he pray'd the people whom he saw weeping to Forgive him, but was answer'd with silence, and so departed to do the like in other places. His men, before they went, seized all the horses they could find to carry off their plunder. . . .

When they [the party sent to Blackford] came to James Maitland's house, they halted, fed their horses, and then they sent out parties to all the houses of this town or village . . . and burnt down houses, corns, and every thing to the ground. . . .

It would be endless to give account of all the

hardships and acts of barbarous cruelty done : It may be easily imagined, considering the season of the year, the vast load of snow that lay then on the ground, the poor people, man, wife, and child, without the shelter of a house, without cloaths, meat, drink, or any thing to support them, and little or no hopes of relief. . . .

Upon Saturday the 28th January 1715-16, about five a clock att night, Lord George Murray with the Regiment of Rebels under his command, consisting of about 300 men, came to the village called Dunning, lying about six miles Southwest of Perth in the Lord Rollo's interest. . . . The Souldiers having spent about the space of four hours in prepareing the meall and refreshing themselves therewith and whate all they could find in the town, about nine the drums began to beat, and according to orders formerly given them, they all appeared in arms in the midst of the town, where their Collonell intimat to them the order he had for burning the village, and commanded them immediatly to begin the execution thereof, and so a mellancholy and dismall Tragedy commenced ; they in a moment were scattered in files through the whole town, and began to kindle the houses, lofts, and corn yards. . . .

The number of families that had their houses burnt that night within this little and small village and the confines thereof were thirty three, besides barns, byres, and stables. . . .

On Sunday the 29th by three in the morning, the

Captains Stewart and Murray with a detachment . . . came to Dalreoch, a barrony belonging to Mr Haldane of Gleneagles. . . . The first thing the party did was to carry a great quantity of the threshed straw, and laying it round the stacks and houses, putt fire to all att the same time, so that with much adoe the servants and those that were in the houses escap'd; horses and cattle he had none, being taken away by the Rebells long before that time. . . .

Upon Saturday the 28th day of [January] 1715-16, a party of the Clans, about fifty men, consisting of the M^cDonalds, M^cCleans, and Camerons, under the comand of the Captain of Clanranald, came from Drummond Castle (where they were quartered) to the town of Muthill under silence of the night, betwixt eight and nine of the clock, and without any advertisement given or time allowed the people to carry out their household furniture, sett the town on fire, and burnt down houses, household furniture, and corn stacks to ashes. . . . The loss sustained by the inhabitants of this town . . . amounts to the summ of six thousand and ninety six pounds seventeen shillings and ten pennies Scotts money, which is about five hundred pounds Sterling. . . .

Upon the 26th of January 1715-16 came to Crieff about three hundred and fifty of the Clans, mostly M^cDonalds and Camerons. . . . They began the Tragedy att one Thomas Caw his house in the west end of the town, thus: the said Thomas and his unkind guest Captain Cameron discourseing together

on matters of indifferency, Cameron all of a sudden goes to the door, immediately returns, sayes to his men lodged in the same house with him, Up! To your arms! Fire the House! and that moment Cameron with his own hands kendled the house. Thus they surprizeingly fired all the houses in town; only some particular houses where they expected goods of any value they delayed till the best things were taken out, which they immediately carried off. . . .

Sir, from thir few instances of the many severities we mett with, it's easier for you to conjecture what must have been the sad and fatall consequences of such inhumane, barbarous, popishlike, and hellish cruelty. . . . The poor women (*horresco referens*) exposed to the open fields with their sucking infants, and scarce a ragg left to cover them from ane extremity of cold: Likewayes severall vigorous men and women (I might name) were struck with such terror that they survived the burning but a very few dayes. These are a few of the many unavoidable consequents of such barbarities. Many have dyed since, and no doubt their deaths occasioned by cold contracted in barns, stables, and old hutts where they were oblidge to lodge, and that in a very rigorous season as has been of many years, having no cloaths save what honest, charitable neighbours were pleased of their goodness to bestow. To say no more (this being too mellancholly a subject to insist further upon), I presume, were there a particular account geven (by some suffi-

cient hand) of the bad usage the people of this Stewartry of Strathearn mett with from the Rebels, it could not miss to produce ane utter abhorrence of a popish Pretender in the heart of any thinking man, who countenanced, yea even ordered the execution of such cruelties.¹

Rae, *History*, 365.

The same Day [January 24] the Duke went to view the Roads [from Dunblane towards Perth] it thawed suddenly, and the Thaw was followed with a great Fall of Snow, which was every where two or three Foot deep, and suddenly froze again, which render'd the Roads extremely Difficult, especially for the Foot; insomuch that some of the Officers were of Opinion, That they ought not to march till the Season was a little more settled: But his Grace having received positive Orders from Court to march forthwith against the Rebels, he resolv'd to surmount all Difficulties, and to march as soon as the Artillery and some of the *Dutch* Forces at *Edinburgh*, and the Regiments of *Newton* and *Stanhope*, who were quarter'd at *Glasgow*, could come up to join him, which they did two or three Days after.

¹ On January 26, the Chevalier issued a declaration authorising relief to be given to those of Auchterarder and Blackford who had suffered by the destruction of their homes. Shortly before he sailed from Montrose, on February 4, he wrote to the Duke of Argyll regarding a sum of money which he proposed to distribute among the sufferers. The declaration and letter are printed in the Maitland Club's *Miscellany*, vol. liii. 446-49.

The Train of Artillery from *Berwick* (r) and some of that from *Edinburgh* arriv'd at *Stirling* upon the 26th; But the making . . . such other Instruments of War as the Magazines here could not furnish took up till the 28th before the last of our Convoy was got clear for *Stirling*: on which very day, Colonel *Borgard* with the *English* Train, which had been so long detain'd by the Stormy Weather, arriv'd in the Road of *Leith* . . . [and] march'd up to *Stirling* with all possible Speed, where he arriv'd on the 29th in the Morning, and was just in Time enough to go along with the Army. . . .

And now the Roads being in some Measure repaired, and all Things in Readiness, The Duke began his March on *Sunday* the 29th of *January* . . . and marched to *Dumblain*, leaving the Government of the Town and Castle of *Stirling* to the Garrison of the Castle. That Morning a Detachment of 200 Dragoons and 400 Foot with 2 Piece of Cannon approaching the Castle of *Braco*, 8 Miles from *Stirling*, the Rebels in Garrison there abandon'd the same, and the Troops when they came up found it deserted. The next Morning the same Detachment march'd towards *Tullibardine* to dislodge the Rebels from thence, and to cover the Country People, who, to the Number of about 2000 Men, were employ'd in clearing the Roads of Snow, and making them otherwise practicable for the more commodious March of the Army, which that Day [January 30] advanced to

(r) It consisted of Ten piece of Cannon and two Mortars.

Auchterarder, where, the Rebels having burnt all the Houses, as above, the poor Soldiers had no Lodging but the cold Snow, nor any other Covering than the fine Canopy of Heaven.

The Proceedings at Perth, 21.

We [at Perth] were now . . . arriv'd to the Crisis of our Affair ; for on the 28th of *January* an Express came in from *Sterling*, where we had our Spies, assuring us, That *Argyle* would March the next Day, That all was in readiness, the Carriages provided, and the Horses for the Baggage come in, and that General *Cadogan* was already advanc'd with the first Line of the Army to *Dumblane*, 2000 Men being employed to remove the Snow, which indeed we thought impassable.

In this Situation, it may be said the Council sat continually to deliberate what was to be done ; nor did their first Measures and Resolutions seem to concern the Grand Question, whether we should defend our selves or no ? But as if that had been no Question, the Consultations generally turn'd upon the Question in case of a resolv'd Engagement.

Never Men appear'd better disposed for Action than ours of the Clans ; the Gentlemen embrac'd one another upon the News, drank to the good Day, and prepar'd as Men that resolved with Chearfulness to behave themselves as *Scots* Gentlemen used to do ; the common Soldiers, the Followers and Dependants of the Chiefs, were as Gay and Chearful as if an

extraordinary Solemnity had been upon their Hands ; nothing dejected or unpleasing was to be seen among us ; our Pipers play'd incessantly, and we shook Hands with one another like Men invited to a Feast rather than call'd to a Battle. In pursuance of these Resolutions, as we thought them, for Fighting, Measures were taken to bring our Troops together, and Post our selves in such a manner and to such Advantage as it might be easy to subsist and yet easy to draw together upon a Signal. . . .

In the Council held that Evening [January 28], it seems that every Man was order'd with Freedom to speak their Minds of the Method of Resisting, and whether the Army should post it self in the City [Perth] and defend it, or March out and Fight in the open Fields? The first who gave his opinion was, as I remember, a *French* Officer, to whom they shewed great Respect, and who, they said, was also a good Engineer. He told them, That . . . as the Case now stood, that neither was the National Army strong enough to Besiege a Town whose Garrison would be superior to their whole Army, neither was the Season such as would permit the Army to lie in the Field, no not those few Days requisite ; nor if they could lie Abroad could they make any work of their Siege, not being able to break the Ground, to dig Trenches, or raise Batteries in order to carry it on ; and therefore, since the Town could not be carried by *Scalade*, he thought they would do well to suffer themselves to be Attack'd in the Town, when

he did not question they should give a very good Account of themselves.

He then proposed the posting the Horse behind the River, which being then frozen over, and passable both for Horses or Carriages, might either receive those who might be push'd by the Enemy or advance to share of the Advantage which might be made; he gave them Notice of a little Spot of Ground without the Town, which formerly had held a Windmill, and on which there was a House, all which was compassed in by a large old dry Mote, and that if a good Body of Foot was posted on that Piece of Ground with four Pieces of Cannon, the Town could not be Stormed till they were dislodged. . . .

But the next Day [January 29] all these happy Measures came to nothing, and the Confusion and Hurry without Doors was equal to the want of Concert within; for we could find that they agreed in nothing, that they not only differ'd in their Opinion of general Things, but also of every thing; and in a Word, here they broke in upon all they had done before, as shall appear presently.

The great Men were up all Night, and nothing was seen but posting to and fro between *Schone* and *Perth*. The case, as we afterwards learned, was this, *viz.* That all the Military Men were positive in their Resolutions for Fighting; the Earl of *Mar*, two or three Clergymen who kept with him, and some others, who for the Sake of the Times I do not

name, were resolv'd not to put it to the Hazard ; their Pretence was the Safety of the Ch——'s Person : Whether that were the true and only Reason I shall say more of by and by ; but nothing is more true than that we who were Soldiers and Voluntiers did not believe them. We told them we had as much Concern for the Safety of the Ch——'s Person as they had, and if we were for putting it to hazard, it was not without the hazard of our Lives ; and to shew the Sincerity of our Resolutions we were willing the Ch—— should retreat to some Place of Security, and let all that had a Value for his Cause fight for it like Men, and not bring Things this Length, to turn our Backs like Scoundrels and Poltrons, and not strike a Stroke for him when he was come so far to put Himself and His Fortunes upon our Services and Fidelity. We carried this so high that some of our Number ruffled the great Men in the open Streets, call'd them Cowards, and told them they betray'd the Ch—— instead of advising him. One of them, an Intimate of the Earl of *Mar*, stop'd and talk'd some time with our People, who indeed began to threaten them if they offer'd to decline fighting : *Why, what would you have us do ?* said he. Do, says the *Highland-Man*, What did you call us to take Arms for ? Was it to run away ? What did the Ch—— come hither for ? Was it to see his People butcher'd by Hangmen and not strike a Stroke for their Lives ? Let us Die like Men and not like Dogs. *What can we do*, says the

other? Let us have a Council of War, says the Soldier, and let all the General Officers speak their Minds freely, the Ch—— being present, and if it be agreed there not to Fight, we must submit.

This was not the only Ruffle ; they met with a bold *Norlander of Aberdeenshire* who threaten'd them in so many Words, That the Loyal Clans should take the Ch—— from them, and that *if he was willing to Die like a Prince, he should find there were Ten Thousand Gentlemen in Scotland that were not afraid to Die with him.*

Things began that Night to be very disorderly and tumultuous, and I know not what it might have ended in if some more discreet than the rest had not interposed, who satisfied the Soldiery by telling them there would be a great Council in the Evening ; That the Ch—— desir'd all that were his Friends would acquiesce in such Measures as should be resolv'd on there ; That if it was adviseable to put it to the Hazard, the Ch—— would take his Fate with his faithful Friends ; if it was otherwise advised, he would do as they should direct, or to this purpose : And accordingly a great Council was held in the Evening of the 29th, and the most weighty and ultimate Debates taking up so much Time that it could not be concluded that Night, it was renewed the 30th, when the fatal Resolutions of giving up their Cause were taken, on the same unhappy Day that the Grandfather of the Ch—— was Beheaded at the Gate of his Palace by the *English Usurper,*

a Day unlucky to the Family, and which as it Dethron'd them before for almost Twelve Years, so it seems to have extirpated the very Name of *Stuart* at last, and left the Race to God's Mercy and a state of Pilgrimage without hope of Recovery. . . .

When the Council was set [January 30], the Ch—— spoke a few Words, and they were but few indeed, to let them know that they were met to consider of the present Situation of their Affairs, and to give their Opinions in what was to be done; that their Enemies were preparing to Attack them, and that it was necessary to consider of the properest Measures to defend themselves; and that he had order'd every thing to be laid before them, and desir'd that every Man would freely speak their Opinion, that what ever was resolv'd on, it might be with their general Agreement and Consent and might be Executed immediately, for that no Time was to be lost.

The Ch—— having spoken, the Earl of M[ar] took the Word, as was appointed, and open'd the Case in a long Speech to the Purpose following:

He told them, That ever since the Battel of *Dumblane*, *I think he said the Victory of Dumblane*, he had endeavoured to keep the Army together, and to put them in as good a posture for Service as possible, having two Expectations on which they all knew their whole Affair depended upon, (*viz.*) the coming of the Ch——, and the rising or Landing of the D[uke] of *O[rmon]* in *England*, as had been concerted and

agreed between him and the said D—— of O——d, as well before his going from *England* as since ; that the first of these had answer'd their Expectation, and the Ch—— was happily arriv'd, having also caused to be brought to them powerful Supplies of Money, Arms, Amunition, and other Necessaries, as well before as since his Arrival, all which had come safe to their Hands, not one Vessel having fallen into the Enemies Hands ;¹ but that their Friends in *England* had met with many Disappointments, and their Designs having been betray'd, the chief Gentlemen on whom the D—— of O——d relied for Assistance had been taken up, so that their Measures had been entirely broken ; and that when the D——, not satisfied with the Advices he receiv'd, had Sail'd even to the very Coast of *England*, and had actually gone on Shore there, yet he found their Friends so dispers'd and discouraged that it was impossible to bring them together without a sufficient Force to be landed from Abroad, to make a stand and give time for those who were well-affected in *England* to come together in Safety ; That upon this Disappointment, his Grace was gone back to *France*, where Preparations was making for his Descent upon *England* with such a Power as should protect their Friends, and give them Opportunity to show themselves in a proper Manner and Place.

¹ Several vessels with supplies appear to have followed the Chevalier to Scotland. One stranded near St. Andrews, and another was lost near Arbroath.—Rae, *History*, 351.

That these Things however have brought the Weight of the War upon them in *Scotland*, and not only so, but had caused those Succours which they expected from Abroad to be stopp'd and reserv'd for the said Expedition of the D—— of O——d, which was now in a great Forwardness in the Western Parts of France. But . . . it was to be now consider'd of, whether they were in a Condition to maintain themselves in their present Situation or not. . . .

These Things being thus laid before them, the Debates began; a Lowland Gentleman speaking first told them, as we were inform'd, That . . . he made no doubt but they might defend the Town of *Perth* till the Enemies Foot should Perish in the lying before it. . . . On the other Hand, as he said, supposing they thought it advisable to Retreat, they might do it with all the leisure imaginable, leaving about 2000 Men in the Town, and before those Men could be oblig'd to Surrender, the Army might be posted in what Advantageous part of the Kingdom they thought fit.

A Highland Officer stood up next. 'I am ashamed,' says he, 'to repeat what I hear in the Streets and what the Town is full of, (*viz.*) That we are met here to resolve to run away like Cowards from an Enemy who We have once already seen in the Field like Men. I hope none here will doubt wheather we dare see them there again or no. I am perswaded there is not a Man in the Troops I have the Honour to be at Head of but had rather Fight and be Kill'd than

turn their Backs and Escape . . . [and] for my share, I do not see the least Reason for Retreating.'

Upon this Speech it was said the Ch—— appear'd a little terrified . . . [and] as soon as the Officer had done speaking, the Ch—— look'd at a *French* Officer, who was also an Engineer, and who had formerly advis'd the fortifying the Town of *Perth* with a compleat Rampart. . . .

The gentleman re-minding them of what he had offer'd . . . told them, however, That it would be needful that they should come to a speedy Resolution in this Case ; for that if he had order to prepare for a Defence, he must desire as much Leisure as possible, and must have as many Workmen press'd in from the Country as could be had. . . .

In a Word, all the Generals or other Officers who came over with the Ch——, and all those who belong'd to the Clans of Highland Men, were unanimously for Fighting.

The Arguments for Fighting were the Subject of many Hours Debate, for many more spoke their Opinions than those above-mention'd ; it came then to the turn of those who were in the Secret to act the part they had agreed on. . . .

So the Grand Council was adjourn'd to next Morning ; but notice being given to a certain Number selected for the Purpose to meet in an Hour or two after, they had a private Meeting accordingly, and here the Lord *Mar* open'd to them the whole Mystery, telling them *in a few Words*,

That . . . there were many Reasons which made it inconvenient to make publick all the Circumstances of their Affairs, and those especially which made it necessary to Retreat; but that it was evident they were come now to a Crisis, in which it was advisable not to Retreat only, but to put an end to the Design in general *for a time*. . . .

But this was not all: there was it seems at this Secret Committee, or Cabinet of their Chiefs, a Piece of Secret News communicated to them. . . . This News was, that the Ch—— had two Days before receiv'd a certain Account that some of the Chief of those who had appear'd in Arms in favour of this Undertaking had wickedly entred into a Conspiracy . . . to make their Peace at the expence of their Friends, and to seize upon the Person of the Ch——, and deliver him up to the Duke of *Argyle*.

This seem'd to fill the Assembly with Horror, and . . . united them in the resolution of Retreating.

The Proceedings at Perth, 70.

The Council having determin'd this Point [*i.e.* to retreat from Perth], it was immediately made publick, tho' all imaginable Care was taken to prevent sending the News of it to the Duke of *Argyle*: No Body went to Bed that Night but those who had nothing to remove but themselves, and the Ch ---- came from *Schone* very early, some said it was but little after

Midnight;¹ and in the Morning,² Things having been all ready, the Troops began to File off, and by Afternoon most of the Forces were o'er the River *Tay*, which at that Time was so hard Frozen, tho' a deep and swift River, as to bear both Horse and Man.

We were not long leaving the Town, nor were the National Troops long behind in taking Possession; for expresses having carried the News of our Flight, a Body of Dragoons enter'd the next Day;³ however, they could not all come together under two or three Days, and having Notice that we retir'd in a Body and were not to be insulted by a small Party, they did not immediately follow: By this Means we had leisure to proceed with the less Confusion, and to make such Provision for subsisting the Troops as prevented the usual Disorders in a flying Army; for we had four or five Days March of them.⁴

¹ 'The *Pretender*, finding that Time was not to be lost, retired that Evening from *Scoon* to *Perth*, where, having Sup'd in Provost *Hay's*, he rested some Hours.'—Rae, *History*, 367.

² About ten o'clock. The Chevalier followed about noon 'with *Tears in his Eyes*, complaining that *instead of bringing him to a Crown, they had brought him to his Grave*.'—*Ibid.* 367.

³ Argyll and Cadogan, with four hundred horse, entered *Perth* about one in the morning of February 1. They were followed nine hours later by one thousand foot.—*Ibid.* 367.

⁴ Both by Chambers and Maidment the authorship of *The Proceedings at Perth* has been attributed to the Master of Sinclair. The writer of the Preface to the Master's *Memoirs* (p. viii) points out, that though the two accounts are mutually corroborative as to the small confidence with which Mar inspired his followers, the

Mar's Journal.

Leaving Perth and retiring Northwards . . . [we] came in two days to Montross and Brechen. Neither of these places are tenable, tho' we had been provided, as we were not, with a sufficient number of men,

writer of *The Proceedings* was a Highlander, for whom the Master expresses an open contempt; also, that *The Proceedings* deal with events which happened after the Master had left Perth. To these objections to the imputed authorship may be added this: the author of *The Proceedings* was clearly not of rank sufficient to give him a place in Mar's Council. He gives his information of its proceedings second-hand. The Master would assuredly have been summoned to the Council which decided upon the retreat. Yet more certainly he would have left on record the part he himself played in it.

As independent indictments the two accounts are too unanimous to allow a suspicion that Mar's leadership was otherwise than they represent it. To judge him only by comparison with what Charles Edward and Lord George Murray accomplished a generation later with inferior numbers and against superior forces, is sufficient to prove that the conduct of the Rising of 1715 was immeasurably inferior. But so far as Mar was responsible for this—and the Chevalier was but a feeble support—one gathers that he was a failure less because he made blunders, for his whole scheme, so soon as it began to work, was sanely conceived, as because those whose cause he had so suddenly embraced did not trust their leader. How cautious the Jacobite nobles had been in 1708 has already been told. But in 1715 every stipulation that they made in 1708 rested upon Mar's verbal testimony for the hope of fulfilment. And Mar was not one whose previous career bred confidence. The mob is a shrewd judge of character, though its judgments may be framed in the language of exaggeration. Of Mar its opinion was expressed in a legend upon his effigy, which the London loyalists burned on November 5: 'I have sworn 16 times to the Protestant Religion, and I ne'er deceived you but once' (*The Political State of Great Britain* [Lond. 1715], vol. x. 590).

amunition, and provisions : but Montross being a good harbour, where we expected our succours from abroad, we were unwilling to quit it so long as we could remain safe in it. We thought, indeed, that the Enemy would have made a halt at Perth, and not have march'd so quickly after us, as we soon found they did, they being within a few miles of us before we had certain Intelligence of it, tho' great pains had been taken to be inform'd of their Motions.¹ The Earl of Panmure, not being recover'd of the severe wounds he had receiv'd at the battle of Shirifmoor, was not in a condition to march along with the Army, which otherwise he would have done, upon which the King advis'd him, as he past Dundee, to endeavour to get off in the first Ship he could find, and by accident finding a little bark at Arbroth, went off in it for France.

Before this time several people had very seriously represented to the King the deplorable circumstances in which his Affaires now were on all sides ; that being overpower'd in Scotland, no appearance of any riseing in England, nor any news of the succours he expected from abroad, he had no course at present to take that was consistent with what he ow'd to his people in general, to those who had taken armes for

¹ The Duke followed in pursuit very rapidly. On February 2 a detachment of his force occupied Dundee shortly after the Chevalier had left the town. On the 4th his vanguard was at Arbroath. By the 6th he designed to arrive at Stonehaven, by which time the Chevalier and Mar had abandoned their army.--Rae, *History*, 368, 369.

him in particular, and to himself upon their account, but by retireing beyond Sea, to preserve himself for a better occasion of asserting his own Right and restoreing them to their ancient libertys.

It was indeed hard to bring his Majesty to think of this, but those about him found it now high time to press the matter more than ever, the Enemy being within three miles upon their march towards us. They therefore again represented to him the impossibility of makeing a stand any where 'till they should come to the most inaccessible Places of the Mountains, where in that Season of the Year, there being so much snow on the ground, there could be no subsistance for any body of men together, and where no succour could come to them; That when his small Army was divided into lesser bodys, they could not avoid being cut off by the Enemy's Troopes, who would then be Master of all the low Countrys, and especially by the garrisons they had in Inverlochy and Inverness, which they would reinforce; That as long as they knew he remained in the Kingdom they would pursue him, even with the hazard of loseing their whole Army, his Person being the chief object of their pursuit, as his destruction was the onely thing that could secure their usurpation; whereas, if he were gone off, they would not pursue with that eagerness, nor would they find their account in harassing their Army in the snow and excessive cold of the Mountains to pursue the scatter'd remains of the Loyal Party, who might

sculk in the Hills till Providence should open a way for their relief, or that they could obtain terms from the Government ; That his Majestie's Person being with them would defeat even these faint hopes, and that, in short, whilst he was in the Kingdom they could never expect any terms or capitulation but by abandoning him or giving him up, which rather than ever consent to they would be all to the last man cut in pieces.

Tho' the King was still extreemly unwilling to leave his Loyal People, who had sacrificed their all with so much zeal and alacrity for his service, yet when he consider'd that as things then stood, his presence, far from being a help and support to them, would rather be an occasion of hastening their ruin, he was sensibly touch'd to find himself for their sakes under a necessity of leaving them. There was no answering their reasons, nor any time to be lost, the danger encreasing every moment. His Majesty therefore at last told them that he was sorry to find himself oblig'd to consent to what they desir'd of him. And I daresay no consent he ever gave was so uneasy to him as this was.

In the mean time, fresh allarms coming of the Enemy's approaching, orders were given for the Army's marching on towards Aberdeen,¹ and the resolution was taken for the King's going off in the evening [February 4]. It happen'd very Providentially that there was just ready in the Harbour a small

¹ 'To be ready to march about 8 at Night.'—Rae, *History*, 369.

Ship¹ that had been design'd to cary a gentleman the King was then to have sent to a foreign Court. This Ship was now pitch'd upon to transport his Majesty; she was but a small one and could carry but few passengers, and therefore, to avoid Confusion, the King himself thought fit to name those who should attend him. The Duke of Mar, who was the first nam'd, made difficulty and begg'd he might be left behind; but the King being positive for his going, and telling him that in a great measure there were the same reasons for his going as for his own, that his friends would more easily get terms without him than with him, and that, as things now stood, he could be no longer of any use to them in that Country, he submitted.

His Majesty likewise order'd the Marquis of Drummond to go along with him; this Lord was then lame by a fall from his horse, and not in a condition to follow the Army, and was one of the four—with the Duke of Mar, Lord Tillibardin, and Lord Lithgow—against whom there was then a Bill of attainder passing. The King would have willingly carry'd with him the other two Lords, but it happen'd that they were both then at a distance, Lord Tillibardin at Brechin with a part of the Foote, and Lord Lithgow at Bervie with the Horse. Lord Marishal, Gentle-man of his Majestie's Bedchamber, was also order'd to go, tho' he seem'd very desirous

¹ The *Maria Teresa* of St. Malo, a ship of about ninety tons.
—Rae, *History*, 369.

to stay and share in the fate of his Country-men.¹ Lieut. General Sheldon, Vice-Chamberlain, had the same orders, as had also Coll. Clephan, who had left the Enemy. Lord Edward Drummond, who was also Gentle-man of his Majestie's Bed-chamber, happen'd to be with Lord Tinmouth² at five miles distance, and so could not go with the King as his Majesty intended they both should, but he wrote to them to follow in a small Ship that was then in the Harbour; but the Master of this Ship was frightned and went away without carrying any body.

The King then order'd a commission to be drawn for Lieut. General Gordon to command in Chief, with all necessary powers inserted, and particularly one to treat and capitulate with the Enemy. He left also with the said General the reasons of his leaving this Kingdome, and all the money that was in the Pay-Master's hands or that he had himself (save a small summe for defraying his own and Company's charges), and left orders for a summe of money (if there should be any left after paying the Army) to be given to the poore people who suffer'd by the burning of A[u]chterarder and some villages about it, which had been thought necessary to be done to prevent the Enemy's March, tho' very much

¹ Cf. Keith, *Memoir*, 28. He states that Marischal was not only convinced that the situation was not desperate, but that he brought Mar to the same conclusion, and that Mar undertook to represent Marischal's views to the Chevalier.

² Son of the Duke of Berwick. He had arrived in Scotland with the Chevalier.—Rae, *History*, 351.

General Gordon is hereby enjoined as soon as he
has no other further occasion for the money left in his
hands for the subsistence of the troops, to forward it he
thinks fitt the enclosed letter to Duke of Argyll, —
& to fill up the blanks of my letter with the name of
the town ^{where} he shall have the money, & the number he shall
have.

James R.

FACSIMILE OF THE CHEVALIER'S ORDER TO GENERAL GORDON, FEBRUARY 4, 1716

against his Majesty's inclination, which made him delay it from time to time untill the Enemy was actually on their march: and the King left a letter with General Gordon for My Lord Argyll, to be deliver'd when the said money should be given, desiring that it should be distributed accordingly.

About nine a clock the King went on board the Ship, which was about a mile at Sea. Lord Marishal and Coll. Clephan came some time after to the Shore, but by an accident found no boat, and so could not go off, tho', as the boat men who carry'd the King assure us, his Majesty stay'd for them till near eleven a clock, but could stay no longer because of the nine men of War that were cruising thereabouts; and it was great good luck that the Ship, haveing stay'd so long, got out of their reach before it was day light.

As soon as the King parted we march'd, and . . . advanc'd towards the Highlands; for there was no stand could be made at Aberdeen,¹ nor could we think of going to Inverness, that being still in the Enemies hands. Some went to Peterhead and thought to have got off in a Ship they found there, but . . . were soon forc'd back by a man of War. . . .

Thus I have given you true matter of fact and a sincere account of our unfortunate condition. What ever may now be our fate, we have still one

¹ Gordon evacuated Aberdeen on February 7. The Duke and a small body entered the town next day.—Rae, *History*, 370.

solid ground of comfort, that his Majesty hath (as we hope) got safe out of the reach of his Enemys ; for in the safety of his Royal Person lyes all our hopes of relief, and we look on him as the Instrument reseru'd by God (and he now seems the onely one¹ in the ordinary course of Providence) to rescue these nations in due time from their present oppression and the lawless Dominion of Foreigners.²

Rae, *History*, 370.

The Duke of *Argyle*, being arriv'd at *Aberdeen* on [February] the 8th, as was said, sent Major General *Sabine* with a Party of Foot to *Peterhead*, and Colonel *Ker* with a Detachment of Dragoons to support 'em, and Major General *Evans* with 200 Dragoons, and Colonel *Campbell* of *Finah* with 400 of his Men (who march'd as an advanc'd Guard to the Royal Army), to endeavour to intercept the Horse of the Rebels, if, finding they could not get off at *Peterhead*, they should make towards *Frazerburgh*. Some of them embark'd near *Peterhead* and got safe to *France* ; but others were oblig'd to return and follow their flying Army to the Hills, and were

¹ The Chevalier was as yet unmarried. His only surviving sister had died in 1712. *Vide* p. 23 *supra*.

² The Chevalier landed at Gravelines seven days after his departure from Montrose, and proceeded to St. Germain. He was coldly received by the French Regent, and shortly after, curtly dismissed Bolingbroke from his service.—Mahon, *History of England*, vol. i. 285.

got to *Frazerburgh* a March before General *Evans*. When he came to *Frazerburgh* he found the *Pretender's* Physician, who surrendered to him; but the rest of the Party being gone to *Bamff*, he detached after them Colonel *Campbel* with 40 Dragoons and 400 Foot, and soon after returned. The Duke having sent several of the Forces in pursuit of the Rebels as far as *Murray*, Brigadier *Grant* came to *Inverness*, and my Lord *Lovat* and he planted Garrisons of their own Men in *Seaforth's* House at *Brahan*, *Chisholm's* House at *Erchles*, and *Borlum's* House at *Borlum*, and Colonel *Grant*, who commanded an Independent Company, with a Party, took Possession of *Castle-Gordon*. . . . These Garrisons continued till they were relieved by the Regular Troops, but the Rebels thought not fit to give them any Trouble.

For their main Body marched straight *West* thro' *Strath-Spey* and *Strath-Don* to the Hills of *Badenoch*, where they separated. The Foot dispersed into the Mountains on this side of *Lochy*, and the Horse went to *Lochquhaber*; agreeing, however, to meet again upon Notice from the *Pretender*. And here being advis'd, That two *French* Frigats were come for their Relief and would ly in *Pentland Firth* till they should hear from them, the Lord *Duffus*, Sir *George Sinclair*, General *Eckline* and others, about 160 Gentlemen in all, well mounted on Horse-back, made a Sally from the Hills, and crossing the Shire of *Murray*, came to the Sea-side near *Burgh*, where

they got several large Barks, which carry'd 'em to the *Orkneys*, *Arskerry*, and other of the Islands, from whence most of them found Means to get in to the Frigats, which carry'd them safe to *France*. Other Ships coming afterwards carried the rest to *Gottenburg* in the *Sweedish* Dominions. . . . There were yet with the Rebels in *Scotland* many of their Chiefs, as the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, the Earls *Marischal*, *Southesk*, *Linlithgow*, and *Seaforth*, who, having broke his Submission, join'd them again in their Flight to the *Northward*, the Lord *Tinmouth*, Sir Donald *M'Donald*, and several others of the Heads of the *Clans*, who shelter'd themselves for some Time in the Mountains from His Majesty's Troops who pursu'd 'em thro' the *North*, and from thence some made their Escape to the Isle of *Sky*, the *Lewis*, and other of the *North-western* Islands, till Ships came for their Relief to carry them Abroad. . . .

But to return to the Duke of *Argyle*, whom we left at *Aberdeen*; The Passage being left clear between that and *Inverness*, His Grace order'd 4 Battalions of Foot and a Regiment of Dragoons, design'd to be quarter'd in that Part of the Country, to march to *Inverness* on the 15th of *February*: And . . . having thus gloriously finish'd the most laborious and hard Campaign that ever was known, he left the Command of his Majesty's Troops to Lieutenant General *Cadogan*, and return'd to *Edinburgh* the 27th of *February*: And in a Day or two

after, set out for *London*, where he arriv'd on the *Sixth of March*.¹

A LIST of the most considerable Chiefs in Scotland, and the Number of Men they can raise, with an Account of their Disposition for or against the Government [in 1715-16].²

The Duke of *Hamilton*³ can raise 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, dispos'd well for the Government.

The Dutchess of *Buccleugh*⁴ 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Duke of *Gordon* 3000 Men, with their Chief, who is Neutral; but most of them with his Son the Marquis of *Huntley*, who is against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Duke of *Argyle* 4000 Men, most of them with their Chief, for the Government. . . .

¹ Cadogan, towards the end of February, sent a detachment which pacified the Lewis, though the Earl of Seaforth succeeded in escaping to France. Another detachment was sent to Skye in quest of Sir Donald MacDonald, who also escaped to France. Glengarry submitted; Lochiel, Keppoch, and Clanranald consented to disarm, and Cadogan was enabled to leave Aberdeen for Edinburgh about April 27, leaving General Sabine in command. —Rae, *History*, 373.

² In Patten, *History*, 191.

³ James Hamilton, fifth Duke of Hamilton; born 1703?; died 1743.

⁴ Anne, *suo jure* Duchess of Buccleuch; died 1732.

The Duke of *Douglass*¹ 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Duke of *Athol* 6000 Men, few with their Chief, who is for the Government; and most of them with his Son the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, who is against it, and in the Rebellion.

The Duke of *Montrose*² 2000 Men, few with their Chief, who is for the Government, but most against it.

The Duke of *Roxburgh* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government. . . .

The Marquis of *Annandale* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Errol* 500 Men, few with their Chief, who is Neutral; but most of them against the Government.

The Earl *Marischall* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Sutherland* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government. . . .

The Earl of *Mar* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Rothes* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

¹ Archibald Douglas, first Duke of Douglas; born 1694; died 1761.

² James Graham, second Duke of Montrose; born 1680?; died 1742.

The Earl of *Mortoun*¹ 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Glencairn*² 300 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Eglingtoun* 300 Men, most, with [their] Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Cassils*³ 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Cathness* 300 Men, few with their Chief, who is Neutral; but most of them against the Government.

The Earl of *Murray* 500 Men, few with their Chief, who was lately against the Government, and is now for it; but most against it.

The Earl of *Nithsdale* 300 Men, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the *Rebellion*.

The Earl of *Wintoun* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the *Rebellion*.

The Earl of *Linlithglow* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the *Rebellion*.

The Earl of *Hume* 500 Men. He was confin'd in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; but most of his Men, with his Brother, against the Government, and in the *Rebellion*.

The Earl of *Perth* 1500 Men, most, with their

¹ James Douglas, twelfth Earl of Morton; born 1650?; died 1715.

² William Cunningham, twelfth Earl of Glencairn; died 1734.

³ John Kennedy, eighth Earl of Cassillis; born 1700; died 1759.

Chief, who lives Abroad, with his Son the Lord *Drummond*, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Wigtoun* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government.

The Earl of *Strathmore* 300 Men, in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Lauderdale*¹ 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Seaforth* 3000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Countess of *Dumfries*² 200 Men, for the Government.

The Earl of *Southesk* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Weems*³ 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Airly*⁴ 500 Men, few with their Chief, who is Neutral ; but most with his Son the Lord *Ogilvie*, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Carnwath* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Penmure* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

¹ Charles Maitland, sixth Earl of Lauderdale ; born 1688? ; died 1744.

² Penelope, *suo jure* Countess of Dumfries ; died 1742.

³ David Wemyss, fourth Earl of Wemyss ; died 1720.

⁴ David Ogilvy, third Earl of Airlie ; died 1717.

The Earl of *Kilmarnock* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Dondonald* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Broadalbine* 2000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Viscount of *Stormount* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government.

The Viscount *Kenmure* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Lord *Forbes*¹ 500 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Lady *Lovat* 800 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Lord *Ross*² 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Lord *Rae* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Lord *Nairn* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

Here follow the CLANS.

Sir *Donald Mac-Donald* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Glengary* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.
This Gentleman was inferior to none for Bravery.

¹ Alexander Forbes, fourth Baron Forbes of Pitsligo ; died 1762.

² William Ross, twelfth Baron Ross ; died 1738.

The Captain of *Clanranald* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. . . .

The Laird of *Keppoch* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. . . .

The Laird of *Mackintosh* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. Most of this Clan were in *England*, and others were posted off *Inverness*.

The Laird of *Mac-Gregor* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. This Clan did nothing worth mentioning at *Sheriff-Moor*.

The Laird of *Strowen Robertson* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Mac-Pherson* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. This Clan is Part of the *Mackintosh's* Family.

Sir *Evan Cameron* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. This Knight is so old and infirm that he could not lead his Vassals to the Field, but were commanded by his Son. . . .

Sir *John Mac-Lean* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Grant* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government. . . .

The Laird of *Appin* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion. These Men did not behave so well as was expected.

The Laird of *Mac-Leod* 1000 Men, most with their Chief, who is a Minor and Neutral.

The Laird of *Mac-Kenning* 200 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Glenco* 100 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Glenmoriston* 100 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

Mac-Neil of *Barra* 120 Men.

Chrisolme of *Straglass* 100 Men, with their Chief, in the Rebellion.¹

¹ The above list may be compared with Wade's Report on the Highlands in 1724 (in Allardyce, *Historical Papers* [New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1895], vol. i. 143 *et seq.*), and with Duncan Forbes's estimate of the strength of the Clans on the eve of the '45, which is printed in *Ibid.* vol. i. 167 *et seq.*, and, in part, in my *Rising of 1745*, pp. 4 *et seq.* The following table shows the strength of the Clans in 1715, 1724, and 1745, so far as the lists of Patten, Wade, and Forbes allow a comparison :—

	1715	1724	1745
Atholl,	6000	2000	3000
Breadalbane (Campbell), .	2000	1000	1000
Campbell,	4000	4000	4000
Cameron,	1000	800	800
Chisholm,	100	150	200
Drummond,	1500	—	—

	1715	1724	1745
Farquharson, . . .	—	800 ¹	500
Forbes of Culloden, . .	—	200	—
Forbes of Pitsligo, . .	500	—	—
Fraser,	800	800	700
Gordon,	3000	1000	300 ²
Grant of Glenmoriston, .	100	—	100
„ „ Grant, . . .	1000	800	850
Macdonald of Clanranald,	1000	—	700
„ „ Glencoe, . .	100	—	150
„ „ Keppoch, . .	300	220	150
„ „ Moidart, . .	—	800	—
„ „ Sleat, . . .	1000	1000	700
Macdonell of Glengarry, .	500	800	500
Macdougall of Lorne, . .	—	—	200
Macgregor,	500	—	500
Mackay,	500	—	500
Mackenzie,	3000	3000	2000
Mackinnon,	200	—	200
Mackintosh,	1000	800 ³	800
Maclachlan,	—	—	200
Maclean,	1000	—	500
Macleod,	1000	1000	700
Macneil of Barra, . . .	120	—	—
Macpherson,	500	220	300
Menzies,	—	—	300
Munro,	—	700 ⁴	300
Ogilvy,	500	—	—
Robertson of Struan, . .	500	800	700
Rose of Kilravock, . . .	—	300	—
Ross,	500	700 ⁵	300
Sinclair,	300	—	300 ⁶
Stewart of Appin, . . .	300	400	300
„ „ Grandtully, . .	—	—	200
Sutherland,	1000	1000	700

¹ With the Mackintoshes. ² In Strathavon and Glenlivet only.

³ With the Farquharsons. ⁴ With the Rosses.

⁵ With the Munroes.

⁶ Forbes does not state the strength of the Clan in 1745.

CHAPTER VI

THE INVASION OF ENGLAND, 1715

Patten, *History*, 15.

I MUST . . . go back into *Northumberland*, and give some Account of the Rising and Motion of the Rebels on that Side, as also of some of their Measures and Marches, till they came and joined the Highland Foot at *Kelso* as above.¹

There had been Measures concerted at *London* by the *Pretender's* Friends some time before the Insurrection in *Northumberland* broke out, to which Capt. *John Shaftoe*, a Half-pay Officer, since executed at *Preston*, and Capt. *John Hunter* of *North-Tyne* in the County of *Northumberland*, who had a Commission from Queen *Anne* to raise an independent Company but did not, assisted: Besides these two, there was one Capt. *Robert Talbot*, an *Irishman* and *Papist*, formerly in the *French* service, who likewise being acquainted with the Design in *August*, 1715, took Shipping at *London* and went to *Newcastle*. By this Gentleman the Resolutions taken at *London*

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 242.

were first communicated to their Friends in the North of *England*, and Means used to persuade and prepare the Gentlemen they had embark'd with them to be ready to rise upon Warning given. . . . The principal Men entrusted with these Negotiations were Colonel *Oxburgh*, Mr. *Nicholas Wogan*, Mr. *Charles Wogan*,¹ and Mr. *James Talbot*, all *Irish* and *Papists*: A second Class of Agents consisted of Mr. *Clifton*, Brother to Sir *Gervase Clifton*, and Mr. *Beaumont*, both Gentlemen of *Nottinghamshire*, and Mr. *Buxton*, a Clergyman of *Derbyshire*. All these rid like Gentlemen, with Servants and Attendants, and were armed with Swords and Pistols. They kept always moving, and travelled from Place to Place till things ripen'd for Action. The first Step towards their appearing in Arms was when, about the latter end of *September*, the Lord *Derwentwater*² had Notice that there was a Warrant out from the Secretary of State to apprehend him, and that the Messengers were come to *Durham* that were to take him. This Lord went to the House of one Mr. *B——n* in his Neighbourhood, a Justice of the Peace, who, if zealously affected to His Majesty's Government or that Lord's Interest, might have honourably enough taken him or at least persuaded him to surrender, which, it is presumed, would not

¹ A short biography of Wogan, by Andrew Lang, is in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A portrait of him is at p. 8 of the same author's *Prince Charles Edward* [Lond. 1900].

² James Radclyffe, third Earl of Derwentwater, born 1689; died 1716.



Forster's route (from Rothbury), thus

Mackintosh's route (to his junction with Forster and Kenmore at Kelso), thus

Kenmore's route (to his junction with Forster at Rothbury), thus

have been Matter of great Difficulty to have been done. Here it is supposed he went from thence to the House of one *Richard Lambert*, thought more private and least suspected. Mr. *Forster*, likewise having Notice of the like Warrant against him, went from Place to Place, 'till at last he came to the House of one Mr. *Fenwick* of *Bywell*. The Messenger in pursuit of him was got within half a Mile of that Place, but staying or calling for a Constable to his Aid, whether the other had notice thereof or not, yet he found time to out-distance the Messenger, so that he never overtook him 'till they met at *Barnet*, when the Messenger brought Ropes to pinion him that had led him such a Dance. It has been reported (not without good Reason) that Mr. *Fenwick* had given shrewd Demonstrations, if not plain Evidence, of his good Inclinations to join the Rebels. Upon this News they had a full Meeting of the Parties concerned in *Northumberland*, where, consulting all the Circumstances of their Friends and of the Interest they were embark'd in, they boldly resolved, since there was no Safety any longer in shifting from Place to Place, that . . . they would immediately appear in Arms. . . .

Pursuant to this Resolution, an Appointment was made, and Notice of it sent to all their Friends to meet the next Morning, which was the 6th of *October*, at a Place called *Green-rig*, which was done accordingly; for Mr. *Forster*, with several Gentlemen, in

Number at first about twenty, met at the Rendezvous, but made no stay here, thinking the Place inconvenient, but rode immediately to the top of a Hill called the *Waterfalls*, from whence they might discover any that came either to join them or to oppose them. They had not been long here before they discovered the Earl of *Derwentwater*, who came that Morning from his own Seat at *Dilston*, with some Friends and all his Servants, mounted some upon his Coach-Horses, and all very well arm'd. In coming from *Dilston-Hall* they all drew their Swords as they marched along *Corbridge* and thro' that Town. They halted at the Seat of Mr. *Errington*, where there were several other Gentlemen appointed to meet, who join'd the Lord *Derwentwater*, and then they came on all together to the Places appointed, and where the forenamed Company attended. They were now near 60 Horse, most Gentlemen and their Attendants; when, calling a short Council, it was concluded to march towards the River *Coquett*, to a Place called *Plainfield*: Here they were join'd by others who came straggling in, and having made some Stay here, they resolved to go that Night to *Rothbury*, a small Market-Town: Here they stay'd all Night; and next Morning, being the 7th of *October*, their Number still increasing, they march'd to *Warkworth*, another Market-Town, upon the Sea-Coast and strong by its Situation, famous formerly for a Castle, the Body of which still remains, and an ancient Cell cut out of a solid Rock. Here they

continued¹ till *Monday*, during which time nothing material happened, except that on *Sunday* Morning, Mr. *Forster*, who now stiled himself General, sent Mr. *Buxton* their Chaplain to Mr. *Ion*, the Parson of the Parish, with Orders for him to *pray for the Pretender as King, and in the Litany, for Mary Queen-Mother and all the dutiful Branches of the Royal Family*, and to omit the usual Names of *King George, the Prince and Princess*; which Mr. *Ion* wisely declining, the other, *viz.* Mr. *Buxton*, took Possession of the Church, read Prayers and preach'd. Mean while the Parson went to *Newcastle* to consult his own Safety and acquaint the Government with what happened. The next thing they did was openly to proclaim the *Pretender* as King of *Great Britain*, etc. It was done by Mr. *Forster* in Disguise, and by the Sound of Trumpet and all the Formality that the Circumstances and Place would admit. It may be observ'd that this was the first Place² where the *Pretender* was so avowedly pray'd for and proclaim'd as King of these Realms. . . .

¹ William, fourth Baron Widdrington (d. 1743) with thirty horse joined them on the 8th.—Rae, *History*, 239.

² Patten probably means that Warkworth was the place, and October 9 the date, at which the Chevalier was first proclaimed in England. The other Jacobite movements in England were comparatively trivial and were easily suppressed. At Oxford there was a considerable outburst of Jacobite fervour. 'We fear nothing,' wrote an undergraduate to his friend, 'but drink *James's* Health every Day.' On October 27 the Chevalier was proclaimed there by the 'disloyal Rabble.' But Handasyde's foot regiment arrived next day and quelled any further demonstrations. The

On *Monday* the 10th of *October* they march'd to *Morpeth*, a very considerable Market-Town belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*, and gives Title to his eldest Son. Upon their March to this Town their Number got a considerable Addition ; at *Felton-Bridge* they were join'd by 70 *Scots* Horse, or rather Gentlemen from the Borders, and they had been considerably increased before in their March from *Warkworth*, at *Alnwick* and other Places ; so that at their entring this Town [*Morpeth*] they were 300 strong, all Horse, for they would entertain no Foot, else their Number would have been very large ; but as they neither had nor could provide Arms for those they had mounted, they gave the common People good Words, and told them that they would soon be furnish'd with Arms and Ammunition, and that then they would list Regiments to form an Army. This was upon the Expectation they had of surprizing *Newcastle*, in which Case they did not question to have had as many Foot as they pleas'd. Here Mr. *Forster* receiv'd an Account that Mr. *Lancelot Errington*¹ and some others had surprized the Castle in the

Government had news of a design to seize Bristol, and sent regiments thither early in October. A considerable quantity of military stores was seized at Bath at about the same time. Sir Richard Vivian was sent to London in custody on October 8 on a charge of being implicated in a plot to seize Plymouth. At about the same time six or seven 'common people' proclaimed the Chevalier at St. Columb in Cornwall. *Vide The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. x. 343 *et seq.*

¹ 'Master of a Ship at Newcastle.'—Rae, *History*, 240.

Holy Island, which is a small Fort guarded by a few Soldiers sent weekly from the Garrison at *Berwick*. *Errington* undiscovered took Boat and went to Sea, and with his Companions landed under the Cover of the Wall, and got into the Fort by Surprise,¹ tho' he kept the Possession but a very little while ; for the Governor of *Berwick* having an immediate Account of the Action, and resolving if possible to recover the Place before *Errington* could be supply'd with Men and Provisions, detach'd a Party of 30 Men of his Garrison, with about 50 Voluntiers of the Inhabitants, and marching over the Sands at Low-water-mark, attack'd the Fort and took it Sword in Hand ; *Errington* himself, attempting to make his Escape, was wounded and taken Prisoner with several others ; he with his Brother afterwards got out of *Berwick* in Disguise. The Design of taking this Fort was, to give Signals to any Ships that seem'd to make to the Coast to land Soldiers ; for by the Assurances they had from Friends beyond Sea, they expected them to land on that Coast with Supplies of Arms and Officers ; but they never came till they were gone for *Scotland*, and then two Ships appear'd off at Sea, and made their Signal, but having no Answer from the Shore, made Sail Northward.

The Rebellion was now formed, and they were all

¹ In another account *Errington* is said to have been acquainted with the garrison, and to have inveigled its members on board his ship.—Rae *History*, 241.

in a Body at *Morpeth*, promising themselves great Things at *Newcastle*, and several Gentlemen join'd them there, and several of the Country People came in and offered to list, but they still declin'd them, and prepared to march to *Newcastle*; but before they went, Mr. *Buxton* the Clergyman, taking on himself the Office of a Herald as well as of a Churchman, proclaim'd the *Pretender*. They had a Party that went and seized the Post at *Felton-Bridge*, and one *Thomas Gibson*, a Blacksmith of *Newcastle*, whom they apprehended and detained as a Spy, which it is thought he was from Alderman *White* of *Newcastle*, a zealous Gentleman for the Government; he afterwards became an Evidence against some of the Rebels at their Trials. Here it was that they received their first Disappointment, *viz.* in the Affair of *Newcastle*, which they expected should open its Gates to them; but finding some Delay in it, they promised themselves to have it in a few Days, and in the mean time they turned a little to the Westward and marched to *Hexham*, an ancient Town famous for its Privileges and Immunities and its once stately but now ruinous Cathedral, formerly for many years a Bishop's Seat, of which three were canoniz'd. This Town is distant from *Morpeth* 14 long Miles; here they were joined by some more *Scots* Horse. From this Town they all marched, few or none knowing whither, and went three Miles distant to a Heath or Moor adjoining to *Dilston*, the Seat of the Lord *Derwentwater*, and there they made a Halt;

this was with Design, as was thought, to go to *Newcastle* for the Surprize of that Town, which, as above, they hoped to have done sooner: It is certain they had a great many Friends there, and it was reported among them that Sir *William Blackett* would join them. . . .

The Rebels that had gone out of *Hexam* to the Moor, as above, returned again to their Quarters, having certain Intelligence from some of their Friends in *Newcastle*, that even before any regular Forces enter'd that Town, the Magistrates and Deputy-Lieutenants having first had some Suspicion, and soon after, positive Intelligence¹ of the Designs of the Rebels to surprize the Town, had effectually prevented it, and had taken all imaginable Precaution for their Security, raising immediately what Men they could, securing and imprisoning all Papists and suspected Persons, arming and encouraging the Inhabitants for their own Defence . . . so that the Town was full of Horses and Men, both Townsmen and Countrymen unanimously declaring for King GEORGE. . . .

In the middle of this Hurry also, a Battalion of Foot and part of a Regiment of Dragoons being order'd out of *Yorkshire* for the Security of the Town, having made long Marches, they came to *Newcastle*, and then all their Fears vanish'd: But they were all farther eas'd of these Disorders a few

¹ 'Some say, from my Lord Justice *Clerk* at *Edinburgh*.'—Rae, *History*, 242.

Days after ; for Lieutenant-General *Carpenter*¹ having been ordered by the Government to go in Pursuit of the Rebels with *Hotham's* Regiment of Foot, *Cobham's*, *Molesworth's*, and *Churchill's* Dragoons, for which Purpose he set out from *London* the 15th of *October* and arrived at *Newcastle* the 18th,² where he began to prepare for attacking the Gentlemen at *Hexham*, waiting a little for the coming up of the Troops. . . . But the Rebels . . . staid there but three Days,³ tho' they were not idle during that Time ; for first they seized all the Arms and Horses they could lay their Hands on, especially such as belong'd to those who were well-affected Subjects to the King. Next, here Mr. *Buxton* went to the Minister of the Town and desired him or his Curate to read Prayers, commanding that in them he should mention the *Pretender* by Name as King *James III.* The Minister modestly declined it (for there was no speaking boldly to them), so Mr. *Buxton* officiated and performed as usual. . . . The Night before they left the Town, they were all drawn round the *Cross* in the Market-Place, where the *Pretender* was proclaimed and the Proclamation fixed to the *Cross*, which remain'd there several Days after the Rebels were gone. . . .

¹ George Carpenter, first Baron Carpenter of Killaghy ; born 1657 ; died 1732.

² Part of Hotham's regiment reached Newcastle on October 9, and the rest of it with Cobham's dragoons arrived on the 12th, in advance of Carpenter.—Rae, *History*, 243.

³ They left Hexham on October 19.—*Ibid.* 256.

Here [at Hexham] the Rebels had notice of the Viscount *Kenmure*, Earls of *Nithsdale*, *Carnwarth*, and *Wintoun*, who had taken Arms in *Nithsdale*, *Dumfries-shire*, and other Places in the West of *Scotland*, having entred *England* to join them, and that they were come to *Rothbury*.

Rae, *History*, 246.

The Viscount of *Kenmure* having received a Commission from the Earl of *Mar* to head the *Pretender's* Friends in the South Parts of *Scotland*, a Resolution was taken to raise a *Rebellion* there, about the same Time the Rebels took Arms in *Northumberland*: And for that End, several of the disaffected Nobility and Gentry in these Parts repaired to the Borders, and . . . assembl'd in Parties at the Houses of some of their Friends, moving Secretly from Place to Place, in order to put Matters in a Readiness for the speedy Execution of their traiterous Designs.

But their Motions and Designs were not kept so secret as not to be observ'd by some of their Neighbours: And on *Saturday* the 8th of *October*, when the People of *Drumfries* were conven'd in the Church, it being the Preparation for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Mr. *Gilchrist*, one of the Baillies, received a Letter from an honest Countryman, dated at *Locher-bridge-Hill*, wherein he advis'd him of the *Jacobite's* Design to Surprize and take Possession of the Town next Day in Time of the Sacrament; which being communicate to the Provost and some others,

who supposing . . . this Alarm was only an Amusement, they made no further Use of it than only to double their Guards, and all Things continued peaceable.

On *Monday* the 10th of *October*, the Inhabitants of the Parishes of *Torthorrald* (*t*) and *Tinwal* (*u*), having further Intelligence of the Enemy's Design, immediately put themselves in Arms and marched to *Locherbridge-hill*, from whence they sent an Express to *Drumfries*, to acquaint the Magistrates and Mr. *Robison*, Minister of *Tinwal* (who was there at the Time), and to offer their Service to the Town that Night if the Magistrates pleased. But the Magistrates, apprehending no Danger, sent an Express to tell them that they might retire to their Houses that Night, and to desire them to be in Readiness to come to their Assistance upon a Call: And accordingly, tho' some was for accepting their Offer, an Express was sent out, and they retired home.

Upon *Tuesday* the 11th of *October* early in the Morning, an Express from My Lord *Justice Clerk* arriv'd at *Drumfries*. . . . After this Letter was read, there was no longer Doubt of the Rebels Design to Surprise *Drumfries*. . . . And it being consider'd that there was a Rendezvous that Day of the Fencible Men in the Stewartrie of *Kircudbright* at the *Leaths-Moor*, it was instantly Resolved that four of their Number . . . should forthwith repair to that Place

(*t*) *James Gordon* of *Boytath*, Captain.

(*u*) *John Johnston* in *Syde*, Captain.

and desire the Gentlemen there met, with a competent Number of Armed Men, to come in to the Town that Night. And the Provincial Synod being to meet that Day, it was agreed that this should be kept secret till after Sermon.

Accordingly these Gentlemen mounted their Horses without any Delay, and in a few Hours came to the Place of Rendezvous, where they met with the Deputy Lieutenants and several other Gentlemen; but many of the People were by that Time dismiss'd: So soon as they had communicate to those Gentlemen the Contents of the Letter, Expresses were sent to all Quarters . . . Requiring the fencible Men with their best Horses, Arms, and other Accoutrements, to repair to *Drumfries* next Day. . . .

After Sermon, the People of *Drumfries* being appriz'd of the Rebels Design to Seize that Place, they were instantly put in Arms, and suitable Precautions were taken for defence of the Town 'gainst any sudden Attack. The Ministers of the Neighbouring Parishes went out that Afternoon and return'd that Night with their fencible Parishioners armed. Expresses were also sent to the Loyal Gentlemen and People in the adjacent Country, and the Town was provided next Day with a considerable Body of armed Men from the several Parishes in *Nithsdale* and *Galloway*, all Volunteers; and many more were willing to come had they been provided with Arms. Nay 'tis very remarkable, That their

Motions were so quick on this Occasion, That . . . those who liv'd in the remotest parts of the Country, and were latest in getting the Alarm, were all in *Drumfries* within two Days after. . . .

Yet several Gentlemen and others who had good Information came to the Place of Rendezvouze on *Wednesday*, according to the publick Intimation that was made for that Effect. And as Sir *William Johnston* of *Westerhall* came there, he order'd his Servants to follow him with seventeen stand of Arms for the Use of his own *Militia*, which he had sent up that Morning, or some short Time before, to *Brade-Chappel*, about half a Mile from *Lochmaben*, to be lodg'd in the House of Mr. *John Henderson* of *Bradeholm* till he had Occasion for them. But some *Jacobite* Gentlemen with the Lord Viscount *Kenmure* and Earl of *Carnwath*, who were drawn together the Night before at a Gentleman's House not far from thence, being advis'd of these Arms, came up that Morning and seiz'd 'em. Having thus got the Arms, which they very much wanted, and being join'd by several of their Friends in these Bounds, they took their Rout towards *Moffat* in Order to join the Earl of *Winton*, who, with a Party of *Lothian* Gentlemen and their Servants, about Seventy in all, was then on his March to that Place, where accordingly they met and quarter'd that Night. . . .

About Eleven at Night, a Bank was beat thro' the Town [*Dumfries*], and Intimation was made to all *Towns-men* and *Strangers* who were provided with

Horses, to appear in the Streets with their best Horses and Arms by the next Beat of the Drum.

Accordingly, next Morning (*u*) by one of the Clock, an Alarm was given (which was certainly very surprizing to the most of the People, who were at that Time unacquainted with the Occasion of it), and a considerable Body of Horse and Foot drew up in the Streets, which were Illuminated (*) for that Purpose, all of 'em shewing their Readiness to march whithersoever there might be use for their Services. But the Night was so very Dark that it was judged impracticable for the Foot to march: And therefore leaving those in the Town, the Horsemen march'd out a little after three, arriv'd at *Lochwood* early in the Morning, and returned again that same Forenoon with My Lord Lieutenant [the Marquis of Annandale]. . . .

It wou'd seem that the Rebels at *Moffat* were not as yet apprised of the Posture of his Majesty's Friends at *Drumfries*, nor so much as knew that they had any Intelligence of their traiterous Design to surprize 'em: For that same Forenoon, they march'd out of *Moffat* and took their Rout directly towards *Drumfries*, and about two a Clock were advanc'd within a Mile and a Half of that Town, not doubting but

(*u*) *Thursday* the 13th of *Octob.* 1715.

(*) From this Time till *October* 20th, all the Windows that look to the Streets, etc., were Illuminated the whole Nights over, as well as at any publick Solemnity, for the Conveniency of the People in Arms, and that they might observe the Motions of Disaffected Persons. The Strangers had also free Quarters allow'd them.

in a short Time they should be Masters of it : But here their Eyes were speedily open'd to see their Disappointment ; For *James Robson*, Servitor to a Neighbouring Gentleman, whose Son was with them, advis'd 'em that the Town was full of People well arm'd, who were then in Readiness to give them a warm Reception. Upon this Information the Rebels made a Stand to consult what Measures were next to be taken, whether to make an Attack, or to retire till their Number (which was now about 153 Horsemen well mounted) should be increas'd by the Accession of others of their Party. 'Tis reported the Viscount of *Kenmure* told 'em, That *He doubted not but there were as brave Gentlemen there as himself, and therefore he would not go to Drumfries that Day.* Here-upon they retir'd to *Lochmaben*, where they lodged that Night with Mr. *Paterson*, one of the Bailies of *Drumfries*, Mr. *Hunter*, Chierurgian, and Mr. *Johnston*, Postmaster there, who had been sent out to recoinoitre them. They treated their Prisoners civilly enough, and dismiss'd 'em next Day, when the Town had set at Liberty three of their Friends who had been incarcerate there as suspected *Jacobites*.

As soon as the Enemy appear'd within Sight of the Town [*Dumfries*], My Lord Lieutenant, with Concurrence of the Magistrates and Gentlemen present, caus'd barricade all the Avenues, stop the High-Ways, cast up some Entrenchments for the present Necessity, reinforce all the Guards, and put the Men into a suitable Posture for making a vigorous

Resistance in case of an Attack. And when it was known that the Rebels made a Stand, most of the Gentlemen, and the whole Body of Men there assembl'd in Arms, were animated with such Zeal and Courage that they would have gone out to encounter 'em in the Fields, and pursue them in their Retreat; Nay, all of them were clear for surprizing 'em next Morning in their Quarters at *Lochmaben*: 'The Lord *Lovat*¹ made offer of his Service to go at their Head; But my Lord Marquis [of Annandale] wou'd not allow them to go out, judging it not expedient for the reasons aftermention'd.

The next Day (*y*), there was a general Rendezvous at the *Moat*, both of the Horse and Foot, where they were review'd by My Lord Lieutenant. . . .

My Lord Marquis being inform'd of the People's Discontent, because they were not allow'd to pursue the Rebels, On *Saturday* the 15th His Lordship was pleas'd to call for the Ministers then in 'Town to come up to his Chamber, where he made a long and pathetick Speech to this Purpose: SHEWING, 'That he was very well pleas'd to observe the People's Zeal and Courage against the Enemy; But yet, That it would not [have] been expedient for him

¹ Lord Lovat, 'who had been some Years out of the Kingdom, and was then returning to his own Country, arriv'd there [Dumfries] with five of his Friends and Servants,' on the previous evening.—Rae, *History*, 250. Cf. *Major Fraser's Manuscript*, vol. ii. 30.

(*y*) *Friday*, the 14th of *Octob.* 1715.

to have led them out against them that Day they appeared before the Town, nor even since that Time, In regard all he had got done was to appoint their Officers, who had not as yet had Time to view their Arms, whether they were sufficient or not ; That they had no Field-Officers to command them, for which Cause he had written to the Duke of *Argyle* for Officers, Ammunition, and Arms ; That a rash attack, before they knew their Officers and had their Arms in good Order, might endanger the whole Cause ; That much depends on the first Success. . . .’ Moreover his Lordship added, ‘That if the People would be patient till Things were in Order, he would go upon their Head and venture his Life and Estate in the Defence of our Religion, our King and Country.’ And finally, His Lordship desired the Ministers to use their Endeavours to convince their People of the Reasonableness hereof, and of how much Importance it was to the Government to secure and Defend the Town of *Drumfries*, and to perswade them to rest satisfied till Things were in better Order.

This wise Speech (as the Event has proven it) was satisfying to many ; and in the beginning of the following Week his Lordship review’d the People again at the *Moat* : And having desired the Ministers then on the Spot to wait upon him, he made a handsome Discourse (to the same Effect) to the several Companies, with which they declared their Satisfaction by several Huzza’s.

But . . . we shall return and give some farther Account of the Rebels. On *Thursday* [October 13], when they entered into the Town of *Lochmaben*, they Proclaim'd the *Pretender* there as their King. Upon their Approach, the People of that Place had put their Cattle in a Fold to make Room for their Horses; But the Beasts having broken the Fold, some of them drew home to the Town a little before Day: And a Townsman going to hunt one of 'em out of his Yeard, call'd on his Dog named *Help*: Hereupon the Centres cry'd, *Where?* And apprehending it had been a Party from *Drumfries* to attack them, gave the Alarm to the Rebels, who got up in great Confusion. . . .

On *Friday* they marched to *Ecclefechan*,¹ where, after they had put up their Horses and secured their Arms (some say in the Prison-House), they instantly met with such another surprizing Alarm: For Sir *Patrick Maxwel* of *Springkell* coming up with about fourteen Horsemen, they suppos'd it was a Party to attack them. Hereupon they call'd for their Trumpeter, their Horses, and Arms; but they could not be got on a sudden, which made them very uneasie and much out of Humor, until they perceiv'd that they were Friends who approach'd 'em.

On *Saturday* the 15th they marched to *Langholme*:

¹ On their way thither, they formed their force into two squadrons, under the command, respectively, of the Earl of Wintoun and the Earl of Carnwath. Kenmure commanded in chief.—Patten, *History*, 27.

And their Number being then encreas'd to about 180, they proceeded on the 16th to *Hawick*, where they proclaim'd the *Pretender* and quartered that Night, resolving to penetrate farther into *Tiviotdale* (or *Roxburgh-shire*), being advis'd by some of their Friends, That the People of that Country were not at all in a Posture of Defence or Condition to resist them. . . .

My Lord Duke [of Roxburghe] . . . having early Intelligence That the *Jacobites* in the *South* had form'd a Design to take Arms and traverse that Country, His Grace, as the best Expedient could be thought on to prevent 'em, Ordered Sir *William Bennet* of *Grubbet*, Mr. *Cranstoun*, Brother to my Lord *Cranstoun*,¹ Mr. *Ker* of *Cavers*, with several other Gentlemen then at *Stirling*, to return Home with all expedition and put that Shire in some posture of Defence. These Gentlemen accordingly left *Stirling* on the *Eleventh* of *October*, and having an Order to get Arms out of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, came to *Kelso* on the 13th, and made it as tenable as the shortness of the Time and Scituation of the Place would allow.

Patten, *History*, 27.

[Kenmure's force, meanwhile, was at *Hawick*; but] At this Place they were alarm'd, which raised some Disputes whether they should proceed. They agreed to return, but had an Express from Mr.

¹ William Cranstoun, fifth Baron Cranstoun; died 1727.

Forster, about two Miles from *Hawick* towards *Langholm*. This Messenger, Mr. *Douglass*, had an Invitation from the *Northumberland* General to my Lord *Kenmure* and his Followers to meet him at *Rothbury*: So they faced about, and marched that Night [October 17] to *Jedburgh*. Here they received Intelligence of the *Mackintosh's* crossing the *Forth*,¹ and the Duke of *Argyle's* Resolution to attack them, which put them into mighty Pain how the Consequence would prove. It is to be observed that they were alarmed in marching to *Jedburgh*: Being late, their Advance Guard was surprized by the Shouts of one who called out, That the Grey Horse were ready to fall upon them and had cut the Quarter-Master and those with him into pieces. Those acquainted with the Quarter-Master assured Lord *Kenmure* that he would by no means be so easily ensnar'd, being better used to Military Affairs; so they continued their March and entred the Town without Opposition. Here, as in most other Towns, they proclaimed the *Pretender*; next Morning [October 18] proceeded to *Rothbury*, perhaps such a March as few People are acquainted with, being very mountainous, long, tedious, and marshy. From *Rothbury* they dispatched Mr. *Burnett* of *Carlips* to *Hexham* to Mr. *Forster*, to know his Mind, whether he would come towards them, or they should advance? He returned an Express, that he would join them. . . . Upon this News, but more especially

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 228.

on the aforesaid News of General *Carpenter* preparing to attack them, they [Forster's force] march'd out of *Hexham*, *Wednesday* the 19th of *October*, and making a long March, they joined them and their Men that Night, and both of them next Day march'd to *Wooler*, in the County of *Northumberland*. Here they rested all *Friday* [October 21], where I, with some Men which I had inlisted, being Keel-men, overtook them upon *Rothbury* Forest. . . . Here [at *Wooler*] Mr. *Errington* brought them an Account of the Highlanders being also coming to join them, and that they were advanced to *Dunse* [on October 20], of which a full Account has been given already. On this News they march'd¹ for *Kelso* in *Scotland*. . . . A little before they came to *Kelso* they made a Halt upon a Moor; and there the Gentlemen, formed into Troops, were drawn out by themselves and called over, not only by their Names but by their design'd Offices for the several Troops: And it is to be observed, that to each Troop they assigned Two Captains, being the only Way they had to oblige so many Gentlemen. Whilst they were thus employed, there came some Townsmen from *Kelso*, and acquainted the Rebels that Sir *William Bennett* of *Grubbet*, who had been in *Kelso* and had barricado'd the Town, pretending to keep Post there, had gone off in the Night with his Men, who were only Militia and Servants, and that they might enter the Town without Opposition; so

¹ On October 22, early in the morning.—Rae, *History*, 267.

they continued their March, and crossing the River *Twede*, tho' very deep at that Time and rapid, they entred the Town. The Highlanders came into the Town presently after from the *Scots* Side, with their Bag-pipes playing, led by old *Mackintosh*, but they made a very indifferent Figure; for the Rain and their long Marches had extremely fatigued them, tho' their old Brigadier, who march'd at the Head of them, appear'd very well.

Next Day being *Sunday* the 23d of *October*, my Lord *Kenmure*, having the chief Command in *Scotland*, ordered me to preach at the Great Kirk of *Kelso*, and not at the Episcopal Meeting-House, and gave further Orders that all the Men should attend Divine Service. Mr. *Buxton* read Prayers, and I preached on these Words, *Deut.* xxi. 17, the latter part of the Verse, *The Right of the First-born is his.* . . .

Next Morning the Highlanders were drawn up in the Church-yard, and so march'd in Order to the Market-place, with Colours flying, Drums beating, and Bag-pipes playing, and there formed a Circle, the Lords and other Gentlemen standing in the Centre: There was an inner Circle formed also by the Gentlemen Voluntiers: Then Silence being enjoined, the Trumpet sounded; after which the *Pretender* was proclaimed by one *Seaton Barnes*, who assum'd the Title of Earl of *Dumferling*.¹ . . .

Then the Highlanders returned to their Quarters,

¹ The Earldom of Dunfermline had lapsed in 1690, upon the attainder of James Seton, the fourth Earl.

where they continued till *Thursday* [October 27]; during which time nothing material happened, but that they failed not here, as well as in all Places, to demand all the Publick Revenues, *viz.* of Excise, Customs, or Taxes, and to search for Arms, of which they found very few, unless some small Pieces of Cannon of different Size and Shape, which formerly belong'd to *Hume-Castle*, and had been employ'd in former Ages in that Strong-Hold against the *English*, but were at this time brought thence by Sir *William Bennet* aforesaid, to be placed at the Barricadoes which he had made in the Streets leading to the Market-Place: They likewise found some broad Swords hid in the Church, and a small Quantity of Gunpowder. . . .

Before I leave this Town, I shall give some Account of what Force the Rebel-Troops now consisted, as well because they were more in Number at that time, and better armed Men, than at any time after; as also because so many different Accounts of their Numbers have been made publick, that it is not easy to know what may be depended upon. The Lord Viscount *Kenmure* . . . had a Troop of Gentlemen with him, which, as he was General, was call'd the First Troop, the Command of which he gave to the Honourable *Bazil Hamilton* of *Beldoun*, Son to the Lord *Bazil Hamilton*, Brother to the late Duke *Hamilton*. . . .

The Second Troop was called the *Merse* Troop, commanded by the Honourable *James Hume*, Esq.,

Brother to the Earl of *Hume*, who at that time was Prisoner in *Edinburgh* Castle. . . .

The Third Troop [was] call'd the Earl of *Wintoun's* Troop, and commanded by himself. . . . The Command of this Troop he assigned, under himself, to Captain *James Dalziel*, Brother to the Earl of *Carnwath*, who had been in King *GEORGE's* Service formerly. . . .

The Fourth Troop belonged to *Robert Dalziel*, Earl of *Carnwath*. . . . The Command of this Troop he gave over to his Uncle, *James Dalziel* Esq. . . .

The Fifth Troop was under the Command of Captain *Lockhart*, Brother to Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*. . . . This Troop was composed of several Servants belonging to the Laird of *Carnwath*, besides several of his own Horses: The Men were paid by Mr. *Auxton*, a Merchant of *Edinburgh*, who was entrusted in all Mr. *Lockhart's* Concerns. . . .

These Troops were well mann'd and indifferently arm'd, but many of the Horses small and in mean Condition: Besides these Troops, there were a great many Gentlemen Voluntiers who were not formed into any regular Troop.

The Foot design'd to cross the *Forth*¹ were Regimented under these Colonels, being Six Regiments in all.

The First, the Earl of *Strathmore's*; but he and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Walkinshaw* of *Barrowfield*

¹ *i.e.* Mackintosh's command.

were forced back in their Passage by the King's Men of War, with several others, and obliged to go on shore in the Isle of *May*.¹ This Regiment was not in Highland-Dress as the others were. . . .

The Second Regiment was the Earl of *Mar's* . . . His Regiment came not entire over the *Forth* ; for . . . the rest were driven back by the King's Men of War upon the Coast of *Fife*.

The Third [was] *Logie Drummond's*. This Regiment came not entire over the *Forth*, being driven back on the *Fife*-side with many more ; for of the 2500 designed to cross the *Forth*, the better Half were prevented. . . .

The Fourth [was] the Lord *Nairn's*, Brother to the Duke of *Athol*. . . .

The Fifth Regiment was commanded by Lord *Charles Murray*, a younger Son of the Duke of *Athol*. . . .

The Sixth Regiment was called *Mackintosh's* Battalion, a Relation of the Brigadier's. . . .

Besides these Six Regiments . . . there were a considerable Number call'd 'The Gentlemen Volunteers, commanded by Captain *Skeen* and Captain *Mac-Lean*, Lieutenant *David Stewart*, and Ensign *John Dunbar*, formerly an Exciseman.

The *English* were not altogether so well regulated nor so well armed as the *Scots*. The 'Troops were these :

First, the Earl of *Derwentwater's*, commanded by

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 228,

his Brother *Charles Radcliffe* Esq., and Captain *John Shaftoe*. . . .

The Second Troop was the Lord *Widdrington's*, commanded by Mr. *Thomas Errington* of *Beaufront*. . . .

The Third Troop was commanded by Captain *John Hunter*, born upon the River *North-Tyne* in the County of *Northumberland*. . . .

The Fourth Troop was commanded by *Robert Douglass*, Brother to the Laird of *Finland* in *Scotland*. . . .

The Fifth Troop was commanded by Captain *Nicholas Wogan*, an *Irish* Gentleman, but descended from an ancient Family of that Name in *Wales*; he joined the Rebels at their first Meeting. . . .

Having thus given an Account of their Troops and Foot Regiments, which might then amount to 1400,¹ I shall give a farther Account of their Marches, and what happened in the Way, till I bring them to the Place of Action.

Having continued in *Kelso* so long as they did, which was from *Saturday* the 22d to *Thursday* the 27th of *October*, it gave General *Carpenter*, who, as is said, was sent down to pursue them, the Advantage of time to advance by the easier Marches, and to observe their Motions: That General . . . had march'd from *Newcastle*, and lay now at *Wooler*

¹ Rae computes the united force at fourteen hundred foot and six hundred horse, 'whereof about 200 were menial Servants.'—*History*, 268.

the 27th, intending to face *Kelso* the next Day ; of which Lord *Kenmure* . . . having Notice, called a Council of War, wherein it was seriously considered what Course they should take. And here again my Lord *Wintoun* . . . press'd them earnestly to march away into the West of *Scotland* ; but the *English* opposed and prevailed against that wiser Opinion :¹ Then it was proposed to pass the *Tweede* and attack the King's Troops [under Carpenter]. . . . This also was Soldier-like Advice, and which if they had agreed to, in all Probability they might have worsted them, considering how they were fatigued, and not half the number the Rebels were.² But there was a Fate attended all their Councils, for they could never agree to any one thing that tended to their Advantage. This Design failing, they decamped from *Kelso*, and taking a little to the Right,³ marched to *Jedburgh*. . . . They staid in this Town till *Saturday* the 29th : And here it

¹ Mackintosh supported Wintoun in his proposal to join hands with the Clans in Argyllshire, and to attack Dumfries and Glasgow in their way thither.—Rae, *History*, 269.

² According to Rae, Carpenter had not above nine hundred men ; while two regiments of dragoons under his command were newly raised and had never seen active service.—*History*, 269.

³ Rae adds (*History*, 269) that the foot 'kept the ordinary Road' between Kelso and Jedburgh, and that they observed on 'Forniton' [? Fairnington] Moor a party of their own men whom they mistook for Carpenter's force. Presumably, therefore, they followed the main road from Kelso to Maxton, which runs along the south bank of the Tweed, and then, bearing south-east, crossed the Teviot at Ancrum towards Jedburgh.

being apparent that an Opportunity offering to get the Start of General *Carpenter*, who would be three Days March behind, and the *English* Gentlemen earnestly pressing, it was resolv'd, in an ill hour for them, to cross the Mountains and march for *England*. . . . But here began a Mutiny ; the Highlanders could not be persuaded to cross the Borders, and tho' many Persuasions were used with them, would not stir a Foot. Hereupon the first Resolution was altered. . . . From hence they marched to *Hawick*. . . . Upon this March to *Hawick*, the Highlanders, supposing still that the March for *England* was resolv'd on, were disgusted, separated themselves, and went to the Top of a rising Ground, there rested their Arms, and declared that they would fight if they would lead them on to the Enemy, but they would not go to *England*, adhering to the Lord *Wintoun's* Advice, that they would go through the West of *Scotland*, join the Clans there, and either cross the *Forth* some Miles above *Stirling*, or send word to the Earl of *Mar* that they would fall upon the Duke of *Argyle's* Rear whilst he fell on his Front, his Number being then very small. . . . This Breach held a great while ;¹ how-

¹ ' Upon this Dispute, the Horse surrounded the Foot, in order to force them to March *South* ; whereupon the *Highlanders* cock'd their Firelocks and said, *if they were to be made a Sacrifice, they would choose to have it done in their own Country* . . . [and] would allow none to come speak with them but the Earl of *Wintoun*, who had tutor'd them in this Project.'—Rae, *History*, 270.

ever, at last they were brought to this, tho' not till after two Hours Debate, that they would keep together as long as they staid in *Scotland*, but upon any Motion of going for *England* they would return back: So they continued their March to *Hawick*, where they were sore straitned for Quarters. . . . Next morning, being *Sunday* [October 30], they made their March to *Langholme*. . . . From hence there was a strong Detachment of Horse¹ sent in the Night for *Achilfchan*, with Orders to go and block up *Dumfries* till they could come up and attack it. . . . But . . . the *English* Gentlemen were positive for an Attempt upon their own Country . . . and urged the Advantages of a speedy March into *England* with such Vehemence that they turn'd the Scale, and sent an Express after the Party of Horse they had ordered to *Achilfchan* for them to return and meet them at *Langtoun* in *Cumberland*.

So the Design of continuing in *Scotland* was quitted. But the Highlanders, whether dealt with underhand by the Earl of *Wintoun*, or whether being convinc'd of the Advantages they were going to throw away and the Uncertainties they were bringing upon themselves, halted a second time, and would march no farther. It is true they did again prevail with their Leaders to march, making great Promises and giving Money to the Men: But many

¹ About four hundred, under the Earl of Carnwath's command.
—Rae, *History*, 275.

of the Men were still positive, and that to such an Extremity that they separated, and about 500 of them went off in Bodies,¹ chusing rather, as they said, to surrender themselves Prisoners than to go forward to certain Destruction. . . . The Earl of *Wintoun* went off likewise with good part of his Troop, being very much dissatisfy'd at the Measures, and declaring that they were taking the way to ruin themselves : However, in little time he returned and joined the Body, tho' not at all satisfied with their Proceedings, and afterwards was never called to any Council of War, which incensed him mightily against the rest of the Lords and commanding Officers. . . .

They left the small Pieces of Cannon which they had brought from *Kelso* at *Langholm*, having nailed them up and made them unfit for Service ; then they marched for that Night [October 31] to *Longtoun*, which is within seven Miles of *Carlisle*, and was a very long and fatiguing March. Here they had Intelligence that Brigadier *Stanwix*, with a Party of Horse from *Carlisle*, had been there that Day to get Intelligence of their Numbers and Motions ; but that upon notice of their coming towards him, he had retired to his Garison, which

¹ This large body made off through the moors by Lockerby and Moffat. Then, dividing into parties near Crawford, some of them made towards Douglas, and others towards Lamington. In the neighbourhood of those places, and at Sanquhar, about three hundred of them were made prisoners and sent to Glasgow.
—Rae, *History*, 278.

then consisted of but a very few Men. . . . This Night the Party ordered to *Achilfchan* returned and join'd us, sore fatigued with their long and dismal March. Next Day [November 1] they entered *England* and marched to *Brampton*, a small Market-Town, and the second they came to on the *English* side, belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*. Here nothing happened but proclaiming the *Pretender*, and taking up the Publick Money, *viz.* the Excise upon Malt and Ale. Here Mr. *Forster* opened his Commission to act as General in *England*, which had been brought him from the Earl of *Mar* by Mr. *Douglass* aforenam'd : And from this Day the Highlanders had Six-pence a Head *per* Day paid them to keep them in good Order and under Command. . . .

They halted one Night at *Brampton* to refresh the Men after their hard Marches, having march'd above 100 Miles in five Days. The next Day [November 2] they advanced towards *Penrith*.¹ . . . As they drew near *Penrith*, they had notice that the Sheriff with the *Posse Comitatus* were got

¹ Under the title 'A Journall of Severall Occurrences from 2d November 1715, in the Insurrection began in Scotland and concluded at Preston in Lancashire,' there is another account of the Jacobites' march from Penrith to Preston. It was written by Peter Clarke, an attorney's clerk in Kendal at that time. The narrative is printed both in Ware's *State of Parties in Lancashire before the Rebellion of 1715* [Chetham Society, Manchester, 1845], and in the Scottish History Society's *Miscellany* [Edinburgh, 1893].

together, with the Lord *Lonsdale*¹ and the Bishop of *Carlisle*, to the Number of 14,000 Men,² who resolv'd to stand and oppose their penetrating farther into *England*. . . . But they gave the Rebel Army no occasion to try whether they would stand or no; for as soon as a Party, who they sent but for Discovery, had seen some of our Men coming out of a Lane by the Side of a Wood, and draw up upon a Common or Moor in Order and then advance, and that they had carried an Account of this to their main Body, they broke up their Camp in the utmost Confusion, shifting every one for themselves as well as they could, as is generally the Case of an arm'd but undisciplin'd Multitude. . . .

Having stay'd at *Penrith* that Night,³ and, as is said, refresh'd themselves very well, they next Day march'd for *Appleby*. It is to be observ'd that there were none of any account had yet join'd them on this March;⁴ for all the Papists on that Side the

¹ Henry Lowther, third Viscount Lonsdale; born 1694; died 1751.

² Clearly an exaggeration; though Clarke places their number so high as twenty-five thousand men.

³ They entered Penrith about three o'clock on the afternoon of the 2nd, proclaimed the Chevalier, and collected the excise.—Clarke, *Journall*.

⁴ 'Only one man joined them in their march from Penrith to Apleby. This man stole a horse about one houre before he joined them, and diserted from them y^e next day, and at August Assizes 1716 was found guilty and executed at Apleby for stealing y^e said horse.'—Clarke, *Journall*.

Country were secur'd beforehand in the Castle of *Carlisle*. . . .

Being come to *Appleby* the 3d of *November*, they halted again, and stay'd there till the 5th. . . . Here, during their Stay, nothing material happen'd but as usual, Proclaiming the *Pretender* and taking up the Publick Money. . . .

On the 5th they set out for *Kendal*, a Town of very good Trade.

Clarke, *Journall of Severall Occurrences*.¹

About 12 a Clock of the same day [Saturday, November 5], 6 Quarter Masters came into the Toune of Kendall, and about 2 a Clock in the afternoon, Brigadeere Mackintoss and his man came both a horseback, having both plads on, their targets hanging on their backs, either of them a sword by his side, as also either a gun and a case of pistols. The said Brigadeere looked with a grim countenance. He and his man lodged at Alderman Lowrys, a private house in Highgate street in this towne.

About one hour after came in the horsemen and the footmen at the latter end. It rained very hard here this day, and had for severall days before, so that the horse and y^e footmen did not draw their swords nor shew their collours, neither did any drums beat. Onely six Highland bagpipes played. They

¹ I have collated the two texts of this narrative mentioned *supra*, p. 412.

marched to the Cold Stone, or the Cross, and read the same proclamation twice over in English, and the reader of it spoke very good English, without any mixture of Scotch tongue.

I had for about one month in this towne lived, and was clerke to Mr. Crackenthorpe, Attorney at Law, and as a spectator I went to heare the proclamation read, which I believe was in print and begun after this manner, viz. : ‘Whereas George Elector of Brunswick has usurped and taken upon him the stile of the King of these Realms.’ And annother clause in it I tooke particular notice of, which was this, viz. : ‘Did imediatly after his said Ffathers decease become our only and lawfull Leige.’ At the end of the proclamation they gave a great shout. A Quaker who stood next to me not puling of his hat at the end of the said ceremony, a Highlander thrust a halbert at him, but it fortunately went between me and him, so that it did neither of us any damage. So they dispersed.

In this towne the Earl Derwentwater and his servant lodged at Mr Ffletchers, the signe of the White Lyon in Strickland gate. The other Lords at Mr. Thomas Rawlandsons, who was at that time the Mayor of that towne, and kept y^e signe of Kings armes in the street above named. Thomas Ffoster Esqr., then stiled Generall Ffoster, lodged at Alderman Simpsons, a private house in the said street.

They compeled the Belman here to go and give notice to the tanners and Inkeepers to come and pay

what excise was due to the crown, or else they that denyed should be plundered by Jack the Highlander. They received of the Innkeepers and Tanners here the summe of eighty pounds and some od shillings, and gave receipts to each person.

About six a clock this night, the Mayor here was taken into custody for not telling where the Malitia armes were hid (the said Mayor was a Leivetenant in the Malitia). But next morning Mr. Crosby, the minister of this towne, went to Earl Derwentwater and Thomas Ffoster, and got the Mayor discharged out of custody.

Madam Bellingham, who was Godmother to Thomas Ffoster, and tabled in Mr. Simpson's house, wood not admitt her said Godson to see her, and he going up staires for that intent, she met him on the staires, gave him two or three boxes on the eare, called him a rebel and a Popish toole, which he tooke patiently.

They made the Gunsmiths here work very hard all night, and a Sunday morning likewise, for little or no pay.

In the house where I lived, two Northumberland Gentlemen stiled Captains lodged, who behaved themselves very civily.

Some malicious persons had falsly reported that the Malitia armes were in the church, and on Sunday morning some of the Highlanders broke into the church in expectation of finding armes there. They also went into the vestry in the church. The plate

and ornaments belonging to the said church were in the vestry, but finding no armes there, returned without taking any of the plate.

In this towne the Horse Gentlemen paid their quarters of, but the Ffoot Highlanders paid litle or nothing ; and about 8 a clock this morning, the foot marched out, no drums beating nor collours flying, only the bagpipers playing. Most of the Horsemen waited at Mr Ffosters quarters. I stood close to Mr. Simpsons doore, and the six Lords, Brigadeere Mackintosse, and Thomas Ffoster had their hats on when they mounted their horses, but all the other Horsemen had their hats in their hands. The Brigadeere looked still with a grim countenance, but the Lords, Ffoster, and most of the other horsemen were dishartned and full of sorrow.

About 9 a clock the same morning they marched out of the Towne, but not in ranks.

A jorniman weaver joyned them here.

Patten, *History*, 70.

[Leaving Kendal on] *Sunday* the 6th, they set forward for *Kirbylonsdale*, a small Market-town in *Westmoreland*. This Day's March was short, so they came early to their Quarters, and had time to proclaim the *Pretender*, and in the Afternoon to go to Church, where Mr. *Patten* read Prayers, the Parson of the Place absconding. There was one Mr. *Guin* who went into the Churches in their Way, and scratch'd out His Majesty King GEORGE's Name, and placed

the *Pretender's* so nicely, that it resembled Print very much, and the Alteration could scarce be perceiv'd. In all the March to this Town, which is the last in *Westmoreland*, there were none joined them but one Mr. *John Dalton* and another Gentleman from *Richmond*, though we had now march'd through two very populous Counties ; but here Friends began to appear, for some *Lancashire* Papists with their Servants came and join'd them.¹ Next Day, being the 7th of *November*, they march'd to *Lancaster*, a Town of very good Trade, very pleasantly seated, and which, had they thought fit to have held it, might easily have been made strong enough to have made a Stand for them ; and having an old Castle for their Arms, Stores, and Provisions, and a Sea Port to have received Succours, it might have been very useful to them ; but our Infatuations were not yet over.

In the March from *Kendal* to *Lancaster* the whole Army drew up upon a Hill, and lay some time upon their Arms to rest the Men. During which time, Mr. *Charles Widdrington*, second Brother to the Lord *Widdrington*, came from *Lancashire*, whither he was sent some Days before the Rebels advanced to acquaint the Gentlemen of that County with their marching that way ; he return'd with the News of

¹ ' Esqr. Carus and his two sons, Thomas and Christopher, all Papists, who lived at Halton Hall, joyned them at this towne. It was this Carus that first brought them word that the Towne of Lancaster had left of making any preparations for a defence, so they marched for Lancaster.'—Clarke, *Journall*.

their Chearfulness and Intention to join them with all their Interest, and that the *Pretender* was that Day proclaim'd at *Manchester*, where the Town's-People had got Arms to furnish a Troop of Fifty Men at their sole Charge, besides other Volunteers. This roused the Spirits of the Highlanders and animated them exceedingly; nor was it more than needed, for they had often complain'd before, that all the Pretences of Numbers to join them were come to little, and that they should soon be surrounded by numerous Forces. But on this News they pluck'd up their Hearts, gave three Huzza's, and then continu'd their March into *Lancaster*. Colonel *Chartres*, and another Officer who was then in the Town, would have blown up the Bridge which leads into the Place, to hinder us from entring;¹ but the People of the Town shewing their Unwillingness, and especially because, as they said, it would no wise hinder our Entrance into the Place, seeing the River at Low-water was passable by Foot or Horse, and that we could easily find Boats to pass into the Town, and that as it would be a vast

¹ 'The inhabitants of that towne had taken up the pavement of the bridge and the side of the North arch of Lancaster bridge. This towne wood have oposed the Earl Derwentwater and his men, and, for that purpose, the inhabitants intended to fetch the 6 Guns belonging to the Merchants there, which were at Sunderland, in a ship called the Robert, if Sr Henry Houghton, Colonel of the Malitia, and who was at Preston with his men, had come to Lancaster.'—Clarke, *Journall*. Some of the approaches to the town were also flooded, to hinder the insurgents' approach.—Rae, *History*, 317.

Charge to rebuild the Bridge so strong and fine as before, so it would be a Loss to no manner of End. Then these two Gentlemen, finding a Quantity of Powder in some Merchants¹ Hands, order'd it to be thrown into a Draw-well in the Market-place, lest it should fall into our Hands. . . .

At this time there were some Dragoons in *Preston*, who were advised to advance to *Lancaster*; but having no Orders for that March, continued there till they were order'd to *Wigan*. Upon this, Sir *Henry Haughton* having Intelligence that the Rebels were within 16 Miles of him, he went from *Lancaster* with 600 Militia, and with them retired to *Preston*. Before he left *Lancaster*, finding that the Cannon . . . could be of no Use to him, having not a sufficient Number of Men to cover that Town, he order'd Mr. *Lawson*² to fall down the River with his Vessel out of the Reach of the Rebels, so that his Cannon might not fall into their Hands. Which Mr. *Lawson* did not obey; for the Rebels having enter'd *Preston*, they had Intelligence, by a Gentleman of no mean Figure, of the Cannon and of all that passed in the Town.

After all this, as said, we enter'd³ the Town [*Lancaster*] without Opposition in very good Order, and march'd to the Market-place, where the whole Body

¹ Samuel Saterthwaite.—Clarke, *Journall*.

² He was part-owner of a ship in the river, whose guns Sir Henry Houghton had tried unsuccessfully to obtain.—*Vide supra*, p. 419, note.

³ About one o'clock in the afternoon of November 7.—Clarke, *Journall*.

was drawn up round the Cross, and there with Sound of Trumpet proclaimed the *Pretender* : Then the Men were billeted and quarter'd in every Part of the Town, which was very well able to entertain them all. . . .

They continued at *Lancaster* from *Monday* the 7th to *Wednesday* the 9th, during which time they seized some new Arms which were in the Custom-House, and some Claret and a good Quantity of Brandy, which was all given to the Highlanders to oblige them : They likewise took up all the Money belonging to the Revenue which was either in the Excise Office or Custom-House, six Pieces of Cannon,¹ which they seized and mounted upon new Carriages (the Wheels that mounted these Cannon belong'd to Sir *Henry Haughton's* Coaches) and carried them to *Preston* ; of which hereafter. During their Stay at *Lancaster* they had Prayers read in this Church by Mr. *Patten*, the Parson of the Place² excusing himself. . . .³

¹ They were the guns on board the *Robert*.—Clarke, *Journall*.

² James Fenton.—Clarke, *Journall*.

³ 'The following Esqrs., who lived some few miles from the town [Lancaster], joyned them here, viz. :

Hodgson of Leighton Hall ; John Dalton of Thurnham Hall ; John Tyldesley of the Lodge ;—Butler of Racliffe ;—Hilton, who lived near Cartmell. . . .

Onely two inhabitants of this town, who were Papists, joyned them, to witt, Edmund Gartside, a Barber, and the other man, whose name I have forgot, was a joyner.'—Clarke, *Journall*.

Two officers, who, with the other Crown prisoners, were released from the gaol, also joined. They had been implicated in the late riot at Manchester.—*Ibid*.

It was time now to advance and open the Way for their other Friends to come in ; for as they had News daily of Troops gathering to oppose them, it was time to extend themselves that they might join all those who had promised their Assistance. To this end they moved from *Lancaster*, taking the Road to *Preston*, and designing to possess themselves of *Warrington*-Bridge and of the Town of *Manchester*, where they had Assurances of great Numbers to join them, and by this means they made no doubt of securing the great and rich Town of *Liverpool*, which would be cut off from any Relief if they were once possess'd of *Warrington*-Bridge. According to these Measures the Horse reach'd *Preston* that Night : The Day proving rainy and the Ways deep, they left the Foot at a small Market-Town called *Garstang*, half-way between *Lancaster* and *Preston*. . . . The Horse, as is said, entred *Preston* that Night, and found that two Troops of *Stanhope's* Dragoons, formerly quartered there, had removed upon their Approach. This encouraged them exceedingly, and made them imagine that the King's Forces would not look them in the Face. The Foot coming up next Day, being *Thursday* the 10th of *November*, they marched straight to the Cross, and were there drawn up as usual whilst the *Pretender* was proclaimed Here they were also joined by a great many Gentlemen,¹

¹ ' Esqr. Townley, a Papist, joyned them here, and Mr Shuttleworth, who lived in Preston, as also did abundance of Roman Catholics.

The Ladys in this toune, Preston, are so very beautyfull and

with their Tenants, Servants, and Attendants, and some of very good Figure in the Country, but still all Papists. . . .

Mr. *Forster* spared neither Pains nor Cost to be acquainted with all General *Carpenter's* Motions, of which he had constant and particular Accounts every Day, and sometimes twice a Day ; but the *Lancashire* Gentlemen gave him such Assurances that no Force could come near them by Forty Miles but they could inform him thereof, this made him perfectly easy on that side, relying entirely on the Intelligence he expected from them : And therefore, when on the *Saturday* Morning [November 12] he had given Orders for his whole Army to march from *Preston* towards *Manchester*, it was extremely surprising, and he could scarce credit the Reports, that General *Wills* was advancing from *Wigan* to attack them. . . .¹

The Alarm being now given, a Body of the Rebels marched out of the Town as far as *Ribble-Bridge*,

so richly atired, that the Gentlemen Soldiers from Wednesday to Saturday minded nothing but courting and feasting.'—Clarke, *Journall*.

¹ General *Wills*, who commanded the troops in Cheshire, marched from Manchester to Wigan on the 11th with the cavalry regiments of Wynn, Honeywood, Munden, Dormer, and Preston's regiment of foot. Pitt's and Stanhope's cavalry regiments awaited him at Wigan. Newton's dragoons, who were marching from Worcester to join him, were ordered to Manchester.—Rae, *History*, 318. *Wills* arrived at Ribble Bridge soon after mid-day on Saturday, November 12.—Clarke, *Journall*.

posting themselves there,¹ and Mr. *Forster* with a Party of Horse went beyond it to get a certain Account of things ; when, discovering the Vanguard of the Dragoons, he returned another Way, not coming back by the Bridge. He ordered Mr. *Patten* with all haste to ride back and give an Account of the Approach of the King's Army, and to give Orders to prepare to receive them, whilst he went to view a Ford in the River, in order for a Passage to come behind them. The Foot that were advanced to the Bridge were about 100 ; but they were choice, stout, and well-armed Men, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *John Farquharson* of *Innercall*, belonging to *Mackintosh's* Battalion : He was a good Officer and a very bold Man, and would have defended that important Pass of the Bridge to the last Drop, and till the rest had advanced and drawn themselves out of the Town ; but he was order'd to retreat to *Preston*. This Retreat was another wrong Step. . . . As for the Bridge, they might have barricado'd it so well, that it would have been impracticable to have pass'd there, or to have dislodg'd them from it ; also they had Cannon, which General *Wills* wanted. . . .

General *Wills* did indeed expect some Difficulty and Opposition at this Place . . . but understanding

¹ The detachment consisted of about three hundred horse [and foot], and took up its position at Ribble Bridge about eleven o'clock ; 'but about one hour after, Generall Wills and his men came into Walton in Le dale, neare unto y^e Ribble Bridge, [and] the said Earl Derwentwaters men retired into Preston.'—Clarke, *Preston Fight*. 'This narrative is appended to Clarke's *Journall*.

by his Advance-Guard that the Rebels had abandon'd that Post, he was surprized, and suspected that then they had some Stratagem in hand, and perhaps had lined the Hedges and so made the Lane unpassable for his Men. The Lane is indeed very deep, and so narrow that in several Places two Men cannot ride a-breast. This is that famous Lane at the end of which *Oliver Cromwell* met with a stout Resistance from the King's Forces, who from the Height rolled down upon him and his Men (when they had entred the Lane) huge large Mill-stones ; and if *Oliver* himself had not forced his Horse to jump into a Quick-Sand, he had luckily ended his Days there.¹ General *Wills*, on these Suppositions, proceeded with Caution, and caused the Hedges and Fields to be view'd, and the Ways laid open for his Cavalry to enter ; but finding the Hedges also clear, he concluded then the Enemy was fled, and expected that they had abandon'd the Town and all, and would endeavour by their long Marches to return to *Scotland*, tho' he thought it impossible for them to do it. But he was soon informed that they were retreated to the Town only, and that they resolved to receive him there with a resolute Countenance ; so he had nothing to do but to prepare for the Attack, which he went about immediately. Having advanced nearer the Town, he ordered his Troops to pass at a Gate which leads into the Fields which lie on the back of the Town, and immediately spreading the Enclosures

¹ There is no hint of this in the authorities for the battle.

with the utmost Expedition and Diligence, so disposed of his Forces as best to be able both to attack them in the Town, and to prevent them from Sallying or making a Retreat.¹

During this time the Rebels were not idle in the Town, nor did they appear in the least discourag'd, but applied themselves resolutely to their Business, barricadoing the Streets, and posting their Men in the Streets, by-Lanes, and Houses, to the greatest Advantage for all Events. The Gentlemen-Voluntiers were drawn up in the Church-yard, under the Command of the Earl of *Derwentwater*, Viscount *Kenmure*, Earls of *Wintoun* and *Nithsdale*. The Earl of *Derwentwater* signally behav'd, having stript into his Waistcoat, and encouraged the Men by giving them Money to cast up Trenches, and animating them to a rigorous Defence of them: When he had so done, he order'd Mr. *Patten* to bring him constantly an Account from all the Attacks, how things went, and where Succours were wanted; which Mr. *Patten* did till his Horse was shot under him. The Rebels formed four main Barriers; one, a little

¹ Wills arranged for two attacks from opposite ends of the town. Upon the Wigan side, Brigadier Honeywood was stationed in command of his own dragoons, Preston's foot, commanded by Lord Forrester, and two hundred and fifty dismounted cavalry, besides officers, drawn equally from the five cavalry regiments. Upon the Lancaster side, the residue of Wynn's and Dormer's regiments and a squadron of Stanhope's were ordered to dismount. The regiments of Pitt, Munden, and a squadron of Stanhope's remained on horseback. Brigadiers Dormer and Munden were in command.—Rae, *History*, 319.

below the Church, commanded by Brigadier *Mackintosh*; the Gentlemen in the Church-yard were to support that Barrier in particular, and Lord *Charles Murray* that which was at the end of a Lane leading to the Fields: The third Barrier was called the Windmill; this was commanded by Colonel *Mackintosh*: And the fourth was in the Street which leads towards *Liverpool*, commanded by Major *Miller* and Mr. *Douglass*. The three former were all attack'd with great Fury by his Majesty's Forces: The first Attack was made upon that Barrier below the Church,¹ commanded by Brigadier *Mackintosh*; but they met with such a Reception, and so terrible a Fire was made upon them, as well from the Barricado as from the Houses on both Sides, that they were obliged to retreat back to the Entrance of the Town. During the Heat of this Action, some of *Preston's* Officers being inform'd that the Street leading to *Wigan* was not barricado'd, and that the Houses were not possess'd on that side, they presently entered that Street with great Bravery, pushing all before them. *Preston's* Regiment of Foot were commanded upon this Service, supported by *Honeywood's* Dragoons. It is true the Rebels had at first taken Possession of that Street and

¹ 'About 2 a clock this afternoone, 200 of Generall Wills men entred the Churchgate street, and the Highlanders, firing out of cellers and windows, in 10 minuits time kiled 120 of them. The Highlanders also fired the said 2 ship guns, but the bulletts flew upon the houses, so that no execution was done thereby.'—Clarke, *Preston Fight*.

posted Men in the Houses on both Sides, but were, against their Inclination, called off to other Service ; nor were they left, as some desir'd, to post themselves at the extremest Ends of the Town, even at that End which leads to the Bridge, where the first and hottest Attack was made. Several Houses were left, particularly one which belonged to Sir *Henry Haughton* : Captain *Innis* with Fifty Highlanders had taken Possession of this House, and had he been allowed to have continued there, he would have given a good Account of it ; but he being obliged to leave that Post, some of *Preston's* Men got Possession of that too, tho' it cost them dear, for many of their Men were kill'd there from other Houses. It is a high House over-looking the whole Town : There was also another House opposite to it, which they entered, and posted several of their Men in it. And from these two Houses came almost all the Loss the Rebels sustained during the Action. Mr. *Forster* cannot be blamed for this Oversight, but it must be charged upon the Brigadier, who, when the Regiment of *Preston's* Foot made this brave and bold Attack and Attempt, withdrew his Men from those Houses. The Attack was thus—*Preston's* Men, led by their Lieutenant-Colonel the Lord *Forrester*,¹ did not come up the Head of the Street, but march'd into a straight Passage behind the Houses, and then made a Halt till their Lieu-

¹ George Forrester, fifth Baron Forrester of Corstorphine ; born 1688 ; died 1727.

tenant-Colonel the Lord *Forrester* came into the open Street with his drawn Sword in his Hand, and faced *Mackintosh's* Barrier, looking up the Street and down the Street, and viewing how they were posted. There were many Shots fired at him, but he returned to his Men and came up again at the Head of them into the Middle of the Street, where he caused some to face the Barricade where the Brigadier was posted and ply them with their Shot, at the same time commanding another Party to march cross the Streets to take Possession of those Houses. It was a very desperate Attempt, and shews him an Officer of an undaunted Courage. Whilst this was doing, the Rebels, from the Barrier and from the Houses on both sides, made a terrible Fire upon them, and a great many of that old and gallant Regiment¹ were kill'd and wounded: The Lord *Forrester* received several Wounds himself. Besides the Damage they receiv'd on that side, they were sore galled from some Windows below them, by Captain *Douglass* and Captain *Hunter's* Men. *Preston's* Foot fired smartly upon the Rebels, but did little Execution, the Men being generally cover'd from the Shot, and delivering their own Shot securely and with good Aim; yet some were kill'd and some also wounded. . . .

The next Barrier which was attack'd was com-

¹ 'This is the old *Scots* Regiment, commonly called the *Cameronian* Regiment, which belong'd to the Earl of *Angus*.'—*Rae, History*, 319.

manded by Lord *Charles Murray*: He behav'd very gallantly, but being very vigorously attack'd, wanted Men, and order'd Mr. *Patten* to acquaint the Earl of *Derwentwater* therewith; who immediately sent back Mr. *Patten* with Fifty Gentlemen Volunteers from the Church-yard to reinforce him, who came in very good Season. Immediately Mr. *Patten* was order'd over the Barrier to view the King's Forces, who, appearing in a Clergyman's Habit, was not suspected nor fired on. He soon returned back and gave Lord *Charles* an Account, that by what he saw, they were resolved to attack him again; whereupon Lord *Charles* gave Orders to his Men to be ready to receive them, and accordingly they came on very furiously: And tho' the King's Forces that made this Attack were for the most part raw, new-listed Men, and seem'd unwilling to fight, yet the Bravery and good Conduct of experienc'd Officers supply'd very much that Defect. However, Lord *Charles Murray* maintain'd the Post, and obliged them to retreat with Loss; nor had they been all old Soldiers could they have beaten Lord *Charles* from that Barrier, which was very strong; the Number they had slain from the Barn-holes and Barrier itself added very much, so that at last the Officers themselves thought fit to give it over. . . .

Hitherto the Rebels seem'd to have had some Advantage, having repulsed the King's Forces in all their Attacks, and maintained all their Posts;

and Night drawing on, no new Action happen'd ; but during all this time, and all *Saturday-Night* and *Sunday*, and a good part of that Night, the King's Forces kept incessantly Plattoons firing upon the Rebels from Sir *Henry Haughton's* and Mr. *Ayre's* Houses. . . . There were several Houses and Barns set on fire by both Parties, both for covering themselves among the Smoak and dislodging Men ; so that if the Wind had blown almost from any quarter¹ that Town had been burnt to the Ground, and the Rebels had been burnt to Ashes in it. I shall, as I design'd, impartially hint at all the Mistakes on both Sides, and this was one—the King's General had order'd Illuminations to be set in all the Windows of the Houses where they had Possession, which, as long as they continued burning, exposed the Rebels that were crossing the Streets upon all Occasions to the plain View of those possessed of the Houses aforesaid, and gave them a good Aim at their Mark. This was the Occasion of the Death of some and Wounds of others, even on both Sides ; so that after a short time, Orders were given for some to go to all the Houses and call aloud to the People to put out their Candles. Which being shouted aloud (as is said) in the Streets, for the People had shut all their Doors, they mistook the Command, and instead of putting out or extinguishing their Lights, set up

¹ The wind was from the north.—Clarke, *Preston Fight*.

more, which amused both Sides, but did no harm to either.

The third Attack was at the Windmill in the Street which leads to *Lancaster*, where the Barrier was defended by near 300 Men under the Command of Mr. *Mackintosh*, who, with his Men, behaved very boldly, and made a dreadful Fire upon the King's Forces, killing many on the spot, and obliging them to make a Retreat, which, however, they did very handsomely. This was owing to the common Men, who were but new listed; though the Officers and old Soldiers behav'd themselves with great Bravery. After this the Rebels began to see their Error, by being impos'd on to give Credit to the many Falshoods told them, of which this was one, That they might be assured that the King's Forces would all come over to them: Yet not one Man offer'd to do so. . . . Nay, Major *Preston* and Captain *Ogleby*, as well as several common Soldiers that were made Prisoners, being wounded, assured us that not one Man belonging to the King's Forces but would die in their Country's Cause, and told us we could not be able to hold out, for that more Forces were also coming from all Quarters: they inform'd us of the Arrival of General *Carpenter* with three Regiments of Dragoons to surround us.

This brave General, after his long, troublesome, and dismal Marches after the Rebels, had very much weary'd his Men, but more the Horses for

want of good Forage, returned to *Newcastle*, having Intelligence that the Rebels were gone over the Mountains to join *Mar*, which was impracticable for his heavy Horse. Having scarce refreshed himself, he had an Express from Sir *Henry Haughton*, that the Rebels were marching towards *Lancaster*. Upon which, with all imaginary Speed,¹ over high Mountains and deep Ways, he at last came to *Clithero*, a Town 12 Miles from *Preston*, on *Saturday* Night that the Action was begun. Whilst he was here, he receiv'd another Express from Sir *Henry Haughton* of all the Affair, which made him use his wonted Vigilance to have the Horses taken care of, so that they might be able early in the Morning to hasten towards *Preston*; which they performed with the greatest Expedition, for they came before *Preston* betwixt Nine and Ten on *Sunday* Morning. . . .

The General, having an Account from General *Wills* of what had pass'd, approved very well of what had been done, but found it necessary to make some small Alterations in the Dispositions of the Troops: He found three Attacks had been made, though not with the desir'd Success, and yet that the Rebels would be forced to surrender at last, or be taken Sword in Hand. . . .²

¹ He left Durham on November 7, with Cobham's, Molesworth's, and Churchill's dragoons.—Rae, *History*, 317.

² Though Forster possessed six cannon he made no effective use of them, being without experienced gunners.—Patten, *History*, 90.

Lieutenant-General *Carpenter* . . . finding most part of the Horse and Dragoons of the King's Troops posted on one side of the Town very incommodiously on many Accounts, being crouded in a deep, narrow Lane near the End of the Town, and besides that, so inconvenient for the Service, that it was impossible to draw up above three or four in the Front, he brought them off in Parties to several other Places. Also, going to view the Ground towards the River, he found to his great Surprize, that no Troops were posted at the End of *Fishergate-street* to block up that part of the Town, and that for want of it, several of the Rebels had escaped there, and more rid off that Way even before his Face. This Street leads to a Marsh or Meadow which runs down to that part of the River *Ribble* where there are two good Fords, being the High-way towards *Liverpool*. At the upper End of this Street there was another Barricade, with two Pieces of Cannon (as is already said) : But no Attack had been made on this Side, nor indeed could it be so, the few Troops consider'd. Here the Lieutenant-General order'd Colonel *Pitt* to post his two Squadrons of Horse and extend themselves into that Marsh, in order to prevent any more escaping that Way, as it effectually did ; for some bold Fellows, attempting to escape after this, were all cut to Pieces by the Horse : Also the General caused a Communication to be open'd through the Inclosures on that Side, that his Post might be relieved in case the whole

Body should attempt to force their Retreat that Way, as it was given out they would, and as indeed they might have done ; but they had no such good Measures in their Heads.

The Rebels being thus invested on all Sides, so that they found themselves entirely block'd up, and being now sensible, tho' too late, of their Condition, and also that they were short of Powder for an obstinate Resistance, began to consider what to do. The Highlanders were for sallying out upon the King's Forces, and dying, as they call'd it, like Men of Honour with their Swords in their Hands ; but they were over-rul'd, and were not allow'd to stir : Nor was the Motion communicated to the whole Body ; but General *Forster*, prevail'd upon by my Lord *Widdrington*, Colonel *Oxburgh*, and some few Others, resolv'd upon a Capitulation, flattering themselves with obtaining good Terms from the King's Officers. Colonel *Oxburgh*, pretending Acquaintance with some of the Officers, made an Offer to go out and treat of a Surrender.

As this was done without the Knowledge of the Rebel Army, the Common Soldiers were told that General *Wills* had sent to offer honourable Terms to them if they would lay down their Arms ; so blinded were we with their Tory Lies to the last : But certain it is, that Gentleman, had his Design been known, had never seen *Tyburn*, for he had been shot dead by the Consent of all the Common Men before he had gone out of the Barrier. How-

ever, go he did¹ . . . to the General, who allow'd him to come and go freely, but told him, They might expect no other Terms than to lay down their Arms and surrender at Discretion. The Colonel, to give him his due, urg'd all the Arguments he could for better Terms, but was told, That they must submit to the King's Mercy, there was no other Terms could be made with them. . . . The Colonel coming back with this Answer, a second Message was sent out by Captain *Dalziel* to desire Time to consider of it.² About Three in the Afternoon, Colonel *Cotton*, with a Dragoon and a Drum beating a Chamade before them, came up the street from the King's General: The Colonel alighted at the Sign of the *Mitre*, where the Chief of the Rebel-Officers were got together, and told them he came to receive their positive Answer. 'Twas told him, There were Disputes betwixt the *English* and *Scots*, that would obstruct the Yielding which others were willing to submit to; but if the General would grant them a Cessation of Arms till the next Morning at Seven, they should be able to settle the Matter, and that the Gentlemen promised they would then submit. Colonel *Cotton* sent the Drum to beat a Chamade before the Doors of some Houses where the King's Men continued firing, to cause them to cease, on account of the Cessation which was

¹ About two o'clock on Sunday afternoon, November 13.—Rae, *History*, 321.

² Wills had demanded an answer within one hour.—*Ibid.*

agreed to,¹ and to order them to with-hold till they had Notice from the General ; but the poor Fellow was shot dead upon his Horse as he was beating his Drum. It is said this was . . . done by some of the Rebels who were averse to all Thoughts of Surrender. . . .

The common Men were one and all against capitulating, and were terribly enrag'd when they were told of it, declaring that they would die fighting, and that when they could defend their Posts no longer, they would force their Way out and make a Retreat. . . . In this Dilemma many exclaim'd against Mr. *Forster*, and had he appear'd in the Street he would certainly have been cut to Pieces ; but as he did not appear publickly, yet he had been actually kill'd in his Chamber by Mr. [*Alexander*] *Murray*, had not I with my Hand struck up the Pistol with which he fired at him, so that the Bullet went thro' the Wainscot into the Wall of the Room. And since I mention Mr. *Forster*, I cannot but justify him against the many Aspersions he lies under in this Part of the Action, I mean *as a Coward*. It must be own'd he was no Soldier, nor was the Command given to him as such, but as he was the only Protestant who could give Repute to their Undertaking, being of Note in *Northumberland*, of an ancient Family, and having for several Years been Member of Parliament

¹ Brigadier Mackintosh and the Earl of Derwentwater returned with Cotton as hostages for the fulfilment of these conditions.—Rae, *History*, 322.

for that County, and therefore very popular : For if the Command had been given to either of the two Lords, their Characters as Papists would have discouraged many of the People and been improved against the Design in general. . . .

But I return to the Account of the Surrender at *Preston*. Before the appointed Hour came, several of the King's Forces entred that part of the Town which the Rebels held, and began to plunder, looking upon what they got [as] their own by Rule of War. But Complaint being made, they were stopped for some time. At last¹ the two Generals entred the Town in Form at the Head of the Troops ; one Party under General *Wills* entred at that End which leads to *Lancaster* ; Brigadier *Honeywood*, at the Head of the remaining Part of the Troops, entred at that End which leads to *Manchester*. They came in with Sound of Trumpets and Beat of Drums, both Parties meeting at the Market-Place. Here the

¹ Rae adds the following episode here :—' The next Day, about Seven a Clock, Mr. *Forster* sent out to acquaint General *Wills*, that they were willing to give themselves up *Prisoners at Discretion*, as he had demanded. But [Brigadier] *M'Intosh*, being by when the Message was brought, said, He could not Answer that the *Scots* would Surrender in that Manner, for that the *Scots* were People of desperate Fortunes, and that he had been a Soldier himself, and knew what it was to be a Prisoner at Discretion. Upon this the General said, *Go back to your People again, and I will attack the Town, and the Consequence will be, I will not spare one Man of you.* After this, *M'Intosh* went back, but came running out immediatly again, and said, That the Lord *Kenmure* and the rest of the Noblemen, with his Brother, would Surrender in like Manner with the *English*.'—*History*, 322.

Highlanders stood drawn up with their Arms ; the Lords, Gentlemen, and Officers were first secured and placed under a Guard in several Rooms in the Inns, where they remained some time. The Highlanders laid down their Arms in the Place where they stood drawn up, and then were put into the Church under a sufficient Guard. When all was safe, by the Rebels being thus disarmed and secured, General *Carpenter* . . . went off the 15th with the Earl of *Carlisle*,¹ Lord *Lumley*,² Colonel *Darcy*, and the rest of the Gentlemen, who, having been now with him ten Days, had been very serviceable in procuring constant Intelligence of the Rebels, by the great Interest they have in that Country. The Slain on both Sides were buried, and then General *Wills* prepared to march. . . . There were a great many private Men³ of his Majesty's Forces kill'd ; how many it is hard to determine, but the Number has been esteem'd above 200,⁴ tho' the publick Lists say not so many.

Of the Rebels there were 17⁵ kill'd and 25

¹ Charles Howard, sixth Earl of Carlisle ; born 1669 ; died 1738.

² Richard Viscount Lumley, afterwards (1721) second Earl of Scarbrough ; born 1688 ? ; died 1740.

³ Of the Officers, three Captains and one Ensign were killed.—Patten, *History*, 102.

⁴ Two hundred and seventy according to Clarke.—*Preston Fight*. Rae gives the number as one hundred and forty-six killed and wounded, of whom ninety-two were in Preston's regiment.—*History*, 323.

⁵ Eighteen or nineteen, according to Clarke.—*Preston Fight*.

wounded, and no more, for they were every where under Cover. . . .

There were taken at *Perth* seven Lords, besides 1100 others, including the several Gentlemen, Officers, and private Men, and two Clergymen! . . .

The Rebels being thus made Prisoners, I shall add an Account how they were dispos'd of afterwards, which take as follows.

For the better preventing Escapes, they were order'd to several Places of Confinement: The Lords were secured in the most commodious Houses or Inns. The Scotch Officers and Gentry, divided into three Parties, were set under a Guard at the Sign of the *Mitre*, the *White Bull*, and the *Wind-Mill*. The Highlanders and common Men were put into the Church, where they continued about a Month, the Town's People being obliged to find them Water and Bread, whilst they took what care of themselves they could, untying all the Linings from the Seats or Pews, and making thereof Breeches and Hose to defend themselves from the Extremity of the Weather. Several of them were sent under Guard to *Wigan* the 13^d of November, and afterwards sent to *Chesham*, whilst others were sent to *Tower-Castle* till their Trials came on: when some were found guilty and executed, others transported by their own Choice, others acquitted, others reprieved, and those untried or reprieved continued as Objects of his Majesty's most gracious Clemency.

¹ An account of the Surrender of Perth is in *The Life of the Right Honourable George Lord Churchill* (Lond. 1736) pp. 22-32.

A great many of the *Northumberland* and *Lancashire* Gentlemen were confin'd in Mr. *Wingleby's* House till *Sunday* the 21st, when a great part of the chief Officers and all the Lords were sent to *Wigan*. The *Lancashire* Gentlemen followed them on *Tuesday* the 23d, and continued there till *Thursday*, when all of them, being divided into four Parties, were sent under the Guard of several Detachments to *Warrington*. . . . Having continued at *Warrington* all Night, they march'd forwards for *London* by easy Marches. . . . At *Barnet* we were all pinion'd, more for Distinction than any Pain that attended: And at *Highgate* we were met with a strong Detachment of Horse Granadiers and Foot-Guards, each Man having his Horse led by one of the Foot. Setting forward from *Highgate*, we were met by such Numbers of People that it is scarce conceivable to express, who with *Long live King GEORGE! and down with the Pretender!* ushered us throughout to our several Apartments. . . .

The Names of the Lords, Prisoners, are well known, *viz.*

James Radcliffe, Earl of *Derwentwater*, Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, *February* 24, 1715-16.

William Widdrington, Lord *Widdrington*.

William Maxwell, Earl of *Nithsdale*, made his Escape out of the *Tower*, *Feb.* 23, 1715-16, dress'd in a Woman's Cloak and Hood, which since are called *Nithsdales*.¹

(These three were Papists.)

¹ The Countess of *Nithsdale's* story of the Earl's escape is in

George Seaton, Earl of *Wintoun*, made his Escape also out of the *Tower*, Aug. 4, 1716.

William Gordon, Viscount *Kenmure*, Beheaded with Lord *Derwentwater*.

William Nairn, Lord *Nairn*.¹

the *Transactions* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. i. 523-38, and in Sir William Fraser's *Book of Carlaverock* [Edin. 1873], vol. ii. 221 *et seq.*

¹ For the trials of the Jacobite Lords and others concerned in the Rising, *vide* vol. xv. of *A complete Collection of State Trials* [Lond. 1812], and *A faithful Register of the late Rebellion* [Lond. 1718]. Cf. Index to Bibliography in Terry, *The Rising of 1745*, *sub tit.* 'Jacobite prisoners and trials.'

Of the inferior officers less than thirty were hanged. Thomas Forster and Brigadier Mackintosh escaped from prison. The others were released under the Act of Grace of 1717. *Vide infra*, p. 443, note 2.

CHAPTER VII

THE SWEDISH PLOT, AND THE ATTEMPT OF 1719

Lockhart Papers, ii. 6.

DURING the first period of these ticklish times,¹ the Scots Torrys were obliged to keep themselves very quiet and live in the most retired manner; for many, who were not actually in arms, had by other ways been assistant to the royall cause, as their circumstances allowed and occasions offered, and none of that complexion could tell how far even innocence was sufficient to protect them against a sett of vindictive blood-thirsty men. The first ease they gott was from the Indemnity published in the year 17[17],² but that again was so crouded with exceptions, that it did by no means correspond with

¹ After the failure of the '15.

² Under the provisions of the Act of Grace of 1717, Lords Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairne, and the Jacobite insurgents imprisoned in England and Scotland were released. The Macgregors and a comparatively few individuals were excluded from the benefit of the Act. Nor were attainders reversed, nor forfeited estates restored. The annual value of the latter in England and Scotland was about £78,000.—Mahon, *History of England*, vol. i. 419.

the mercifull disposition which the authors pretended to manifest by it ; so that the triennial prescription of high treason was the first solid relief and security to the distress'd royall party ; after which they began to peep out, and many, who, not inclining to trust themselves in the hands of the Government, had retired and lived abroad, and were not under any sentence, return'd home to their familys.

During the intervall, the Squadrone gott the better of the Duke of Argyle at court, where he and his friends had very little to say ; but as the prince and his father [George the First] were at odds, His Grace adhered to and was the cheif adviser of the former, nay was thought to have him in leading-strings ; and whilst the discord betwixt him and the Squadrone dayly increased, the Scots Torrys interfeer'd with neither, having at the same time no correspondence abroad, further than what by private letters gave an account of the Kings and their friends health.¹ There was, however, a surmise that the King had some hopes of gaining the King of Sweden to espouse his cause ; and the first notice therof, to be depended upon, was a letter from the Duke of Mar

¹ Upon his return from Scotland in February 1716, the Chevalier retired to Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine. But the disposition of the French Government, which, under the Regent Orléans, had been unfriendly towards the Jacobites since the death of Louis the Fourteenth, compelled the Chevalier to withdraw, first to Avignon, and then to Italy. Ormonde and Mar continued to be his chief advisers.

to Captain Straiton, which he directed to be communicated to the Bishop of Edinburgh, the Lord Balmerino,¹ and my self, wherein he signified that if 5 or 6000 bolls of meal could be purchased by the Kings friends and sent to Sweden, where was then a great scarcity, it would be of great service to the King. But wee foresaw so many difficultys in raising a sum of money sufficient for it (most of those who formerly would have contributed to the King being exiles or forfeited, and such as were not so, nevertheless in great straits by the losses they sustain'd and the depredation of their estates during the war, and by the great charges they were at in supporting their distressed friends abroad and at home), and withall so impracticable to collect and embark such a quantity of meal without being discovered and creating some suspition in the Government, that wee could not think of undertaking it with any hopes of success.

The prospect of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden coming to the aid of the Chevalier had arisen over Sweden's disappointment at the cession of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden by Denmark to Hanover in 1715. The two Duchies had been wrested from Sweden in 1712, and Charles was bent upon their recovery. Overtures had been made to him by the Jacobites while the '15 was in progress, and the invasion of Scotland by a Swedish force had been suggested. That project, however, had come to nothing. But in the autumn of 1716, Baron Gortz, Swedish Envoy at the Hague, Count Gyllenborg, the

¹ John Elphinstone, fourth Baron Balmerinoch; born 1652; died 1736.

Swedish Minister in London, and Baron Spaar, Swedish Minister in Paris, were in communication with each other and with the Duke of Ormonde regarding a revival of the scheme of the previous year.¹ The design of its promoters appears sufficiently in the following correspondence.²

Baron Sparre to Count Gyllenborg.

Paris, 25 September [N.S.] 1716.

With that Cordiality with which I propose to converse always with you, I will acquaint you that three Days ago I came to know, by a Canal which 'tis needless to explain to you, that you have enter'd upon Business with some Lords of the chief of the Pretender's Party, that they take it for granted you are empower'd to do it by the King our Master, and in a Word, that you are inclin'd to believe His Majesty will expouse the Interests of that Prince.

In the first Place I will tell you, that I shall be charmed with it, and then that it is not from a Motive of Curiosity that I ask you whether what I have heard be true, but that I may cooperate with you, tho' indirectly, 'till I have Powers like yours, without which you know we are obliged to proceed very cautiously.

Do me the Friendship to let me know what there

¹ Cf. Mahon, *op. cit.* vol. i. 386.

² This correspondence is printed in *Letters which passed between Count Gyllenborg, the Barons Gortz, Sparre, and others; relating to the Design of raising a Rebellion in His Majesty's Dominions, to be supported by a Force from Sweden.* Published by Authority [Lond. 1717].

is in this Matter as soon as possible I flatter my self you will find your Account in it.

Count Gyllenborg to Baron Gortz.

London, 29 September 1716.

I now do my self the Honour to acquaint you that every Body here is of Opinion, that either France is extreamly weak, or else that the Regent aims at the Throne, and is desirous to purchase it of King George at any Rate; for otherwise it is thought impossible that France could condescend to make so ignominious a Sacrifice as she does of a Work which cost her so much, and for which the late King would have undergone a Ten Years War.¹ People go so far here as to lay Wagers that the young King of France will be dispatched before a certain Time to make Way for his Uncle; but if the Report which is current at present proves true, that this last Prince is fallen ill of the Small-Pox, it is very possible that Providence may confound his vast Projects, which among other Things tend to set up the Court of Hanover to serve France in our Stead, as a Balance against the Power of the Emperour; and it was with this View that France already offered last Spring to consent to guaranty to the Hanoverians the Possession of the Dutchy of

¹ Louis the Fourteenth had commenced to construct new works at Mardyke at the time when the English Government insisted upon the dismantling of Dunkirk. The Regent Orléans, however, agreed to discontinue them.—Mahon, *op. cit.* vol. i. 326.

Bre[men]. If the Emperor considers well the Time at which France takes these steps and England is so forward to answer them, he will find that his last Advantage over the Turks has begot a Jealousy in those two Powers, and has made them bethink themselves in good Time of securing one another mutually against his Power. I know not with what Design it is done, but the Ministry at present give out that the Peace of the North is actually in Agitation, and that it will be concluded to the Satisfaction of the King of Sweden. . . .

The Intimations which have been made me terminate in bringing in the Pretender; but as I cannot enter upon that Affair without an Express Order from the King my Master, I have avoided coming to Particulars.

Ten thousand Men transported hither from Sweden would do the Business, and I believe we shall not be at a Loss for Money.

Baron Gortz to Count Gyllenborg.

⁵/₁₈ October 1716.

I do myself the Honour to return the following Answer to your Letter of the [29]th.

I am of Opinion, Sir, that hitherto we need not be much disturbed about the Treaty between France and Great Britain.¹ . . .

¹ The Triple Alliance, between England, France, and Holland. The Anglo-French Convention was signed in November 1716, and Holland acceded to it in January 1717.—Mahon, *op. cit.* vol. i. 384.

You will do well, Sir, not to make any Mention in your Letters to the King, or to your Correspondents in Sweden, of what has been secretly propos'd to you about the Pretender.

In the mean Time, you will risque nothing by acquainting me with all the Particulars on that Head ; but above all, it will be necessary to explain clearly to me how Ten Thousand Men might do the Business ; that is to say, what Scheme is contriv'd, and what Motive is design'd to be offer'd to the King of Sweden to induce him to enter into this Affair.

Count Gyllenborg to Baron Gortz.

London, $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ October 1716.

I have at present the Honour to answer your Excellency's of the 5/16th. I say nothing to the Alliance lately made by France. Last Spring France offer'd the Hanoverians their Guaranty of the Possession of Bremen, and I doubt not but they have now done it. How do we know but this may produce Good Dispositions at Vienna towards us? Twas in jest only that Count Volkra told Mr. Petkum that his Master would enter into that Alliance. . . .

Postscript.

Your Excellency hath seen, by my last to Mr. de Mullern, what I have written upon the Subject in Question ; you will be pleased to send or keep back

that Letter, just as you shall judge convenient; however, I beg you would be pleased to inform me which you do.

There is no Medium, either Bremen or the Hanoverians must be sacrificed. The latter is not so difficult, considering the general Discontent. Ten thousand men would be sufficient: The Malecontents require but a Body of regular Troops to which they may join themselves: That Body being transported in the Month of March, when the Easterly Winds reign, and when it will not in the least be dreamt on, will cause a general Revolt. We must also have Arms for between Fifteen and Twenty Thousand Men, and as many Accoutrements as can be got, for as to Horses we shall have them here. Your Excellency may easily judge of what Advantage this will be to the King, and in my poor Opinion we have no other course to take, unless we are willing to give up every thing. My Friends are not in Town, but I shall speak with them some Day the next Week, and then your Excellency may expect their Scheme. In the mean time I should be of Opinion, that if every thing could be done without making use of a great many English, there would be the less Risque run; so I do not know whether I ought to touch upon what the King must have further, for altho' they will endeavour to do every thing that I ask, yet as it must be by a Contribution raised among a great many, it may happen that there may be a false Brother. Our Men being once

landed, I answer for the rest: In a Country where Nine in Ten are Rebels, and where every thing abounds, we can want nothing. Your Excellency will very soon be inform'd of the rest. In the mean time, I beg you would remember what I had the Honour to write to you last Summer concerning one N——. No body knows the Sea and the Coasts better than he, and he is a brave and an honest Man. In short, it will be a glorious Enterprize, which will put an End to all our Misfortunes by ruining those that are the Authors of them. As to what I have to say of the time, the sooner will be the better, after the Trade to Gottinbourg is ended, or before it begins.

Count Gyllenborg to Baron Gortz.

London, $\frac{16}{27}$ Octob. 1716.

I have since spoken with two of the Principals, who have assur'd me that there shall be Sixty Thousand Pounds Sterling as soon as I shall shew them a Line from the King, with Assurances under his own Hand that he will assist them. As for what relates to the Scheme, I shall have it within a few days. One of these, who has the principal Direction, assured me that in this Affair we had nothing to apprehend from the Regent [of France].

Baron Gortz to Count Gyllenborg.

Hague, $\frac{12}{30}$ October 1716.

You have obliged me, Sir, by communicating to me the Particulars contained in your Postscript. You

must absolutely forbear speaking of Money, or appearing eager to learn what Scheme your Friends are upon.

'Tis sufficient to give them the Hearing only when they are delivering their own Thoughts: We our selves will judge afterwards what Solidity there is in them, and what Plan is best for us to form.

Count Gyllenborg to Baron Gortz.

London, 4 Nov. 1716.

In Answer to what your Excellency hath done me the honour to write to me in the Postscript to your letter of the 16/27 past, I grant there would be no harm in hearing the insinuations of this Court, if they were made not only without my promising to make report of them to His Majesty, but also my giving them Hopes of His Majesty's being resolved to be reconciled to the Hanoverians, and to sacrifice Bremen to them for some Equivalent on the part of the Czar. But as without that they will make no Overtures, for fear we should make use of them to encrease still more the distrust which is between the Northern Allies, and so make an Advantage of them, it is not in my Power to get any thing particular out of them; nor am I able to say of what Service to us their Assistance against the Czar would be; but if I were to guess by their discourse who have been talking with me about it as from themselves, tho' I easily perceiv'd it was by Order of the Ministers, I should believe that if the Preliminary concerning

Bremen was settled, the English Ministers would be very well pleased to repair the false step they have made, by talking loudly of the Defensive Treaty between us, and by persuading the Nation to give us the Succour therein stipulated, either in Money or Ships. I should fancy also, that we might come to an Agreement in relation to what they ought to help us to take from the Czar, by way of Reprisal for our losses in Germany. On the other hand, and if we don't submit to them, Your Excellency may be assur'd, that as well to justify their past Actions as to force us to a Compliance, they will prevail upon the mercenary Parliament which they have at present, to take vigorous Resolutions and even to declare War against us. This is what we must expect. The English Ministers don't mince the Matter: And they have already made it appear that they will stick at nothing. They are all furious Persons. Sunderland,¹ who is, as it were, at the Head of Affairs, and who has got all the Interest he has with the King of England by having consented to what has been done against us (being besides our Enemy), is at present at Hanover to take his Instructions from the Germans, and Your Excellency may guess he will execute them with all the Boldness imaginable. Your Excellency will therefore find we ought to make use of this Opportunity, to enter into Measures against People who certainly won't do Things by

¹ Charles Earl of Sunderland, Lord Privy Seal. *Vide* Mahon, *op. cit.* vol. i. 355.

halves. We must either ruine them or be undone our selves, that is, if it be in their Power to bring it to pass. . . .

Postscript.

My friends are now in Town. An Express, which came to them Yesterday from the Pretender, will put them in a yet better Condition for forming a Plan. To-day they are going about it. There are only five or six of the most considerable Persons consulted. They would know, in case we agree, whether the Money must be paid here or elsewhere, or if it must be sent over to Sweden; they have also asked me if we had any occasion for Sea Officers, for then they would furnish us with good ones.

The scheme was never carried into execution. Gyllenborg's correspondence fell into the hands of the English Government, and on January 29, 1717, it was laid before the Council. Stringent measures were adopted. Gyllenborg was arrested and his papers were confiscated by Marshal Wade. Cæsar, Member of Parliament for Hertford, and Sir Jacob Bancks, who were suspected of being concerned in the plot, were arrested. Gortz also was arrested at Arnheim, and the Swedish Government retaliated by apprehending the British Resident. After lengthy negotiations, Gyllenborg, Gortz, and the British Resident were released. The immediate prospect of Swedish help to the Chevalier's cause vanished.¹

Lockhart Papers, ii. 17.

The King's affairs for a long time made little or no noise, but on breaking out of the war with Spain, people began to hope that something in his favours

¹ *Vide Mahon, op. cit.*, vol. i. 388 *et seq.*

would cast up, and whilst wee were fed with these hopes in very general terms by letters from abroad, all of a sudden wee received the joyfull news of the King of Spain's having declared for our King. What correspondence King Philip had in England I cannot particularly tell, but sure I am there was not the least intimation of such a design to any in Scotland untill a very little befor it was publick over all Europe. About which time the Earl of Wigton writt a letter to me from his country house, desireing me to meet him without fail next day exactly at four in the afternoon at a certain private place in Edinburgh, and I having accordingly kept the tryst, His Lordship introduced me to Mr. Francis Kennedy; this gentleman was sent express to acquaint the King's friends of the attempt that was to be made by Spain on Britain, and he was directed to goe first to my Lord Wigton, who thought fitt to call me to be present at the conference. Mr. Kennedy produced a small peice of parchment writt and sign'd by the Duke of Ormond, desireing entire credit might be given to the bearer therof; and then he told us that the Duke was actually embarked with a considerable body of Spanish troops, designing to land them in England, and that the Earl Marishall was sail'd with a battalion, accompanyd by the Marquis's of Tullibardine and Seaforth and some of the Heads of the Highland clans, and was to land in the Highlands; that the troops design'd for England and Scotland were sufficient to make a

stand till the Kings friends could gett together ; that he durst say Marishall was landed befor that day, and that wee would soon hear of the like of Ormond ; and he desired wee would consider what was to be done for the King's service at this criticall juncture. After having fully talked over the affair, wee judged it highly necessary to conceal this intelligence as long as it was possible, because we perceived the Spainards design'd to catch the British Government napping. Besides, as there were many accidents to which the Spanish fleet might be exposed in so long a voyage, wee did by no means think it adviseable to move in Scotland till wee were sure the Duke of Ormond was landed ; for if any appearance should be made for the King in Scotland, and the grand design fail in the execution, wee could meet with no quarters from the Government, and the King at the same time reap no benefit.

A few days after this, the Spanish design against Britain was known every where.

The Spanish design was the creation of Cardinal Alberoni. Spain, since the Treaty of Utrecht, had become very restless. By that Treaty her territory had been considerably diminished. The Emperor had gained at her expense in Italy, and he also refused his recognition of Philip as King of Spain. Towards France also, in spite of the kinship of the reigning Houses, Alberoni's policy was hostile, in that he dreamed of a possible union of the two kingdoms in contravention of the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. But Alberoni was obliged to reckon upon the opposition of England, since that country had in 1716 formally guaranteed the integrity of the Emperor's dominions in the Treaty of Westminster, and in January



JAMES DUKE OF ORMONDE

At page 456.

1717 had concluded a Triple Alliance with France and Holland for the preservation of the peace of Europe upon the lines of the Treaty of Utrecht. Undaunted, and stimulated by the Emperor's arrest of the Spanish Minister at Rome while on his return to Spain, Alberoni resolved to make war upon Austria. Early in 1718 the Spanish fleet seized Sicily. The British Ministry despatched a fleet under Sir George Byng to the Mediterranean. Byng, having failed to persuade Alberoni to make peace, attacked and destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro in August 1718. To cripple England, or at least to disable her from thwarting his designs upon Italy, became now the chief purpose of Alberoni. In order to achieve it, he resolved to rouse the Jacobites in England and Scotland, and at the same time to support them with Spanish forces.¹ Early in November 1718 the Duke of Ormonde, at that time in Paris, was invited to Madrid. On December 17 [N.S.] he wrote to the Chevalier at Rome to inform him of Alberoni's proposals on his behalf.

*Ormonde to Peter [the Chevalier de St. George].*²

Valladolid, December 17th [N.S.], 1718.

According to my Promise in my last, I must now inform you of the Situation of your affairs, which I hope will be satisfactory to you.

14/a [Alberoni] came to me privately and informed me that he had sent 21/2 [Sir Patrick Lawless] to 507 [the King of Sweden] to engage him to enter into an alliance with 497 [the King of Spain]; that

¹ Cf. Mahon, *op. cit.* vol. i. 424 *et seq.*

² This letter is on pp. 15-17 of *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719: Letters of James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde, relating to Cardinal Alberoni's Project for the Invasion of Great Britain on behalf of the Stuarts, and to the Landing of a Spanish Expedition in Scotland.* Ed. W. K. Dickson [Scottish History Society, Edin. 1895].

the Chief Article was to endeavour to dethrone 249 [the King of England] their common enemy; that he carryed Bills with him to enable 507 to make the attempt, with promises of an Annual Subsidy, provided he enter'd into the Alliance.

The next time I saw 14/a, he asked me what I demanded as necessary to make an attempt to restore 289 [the Chevalier de St. George]. I told him seven or eight thousand men, with 15,000 arms and Ammunition proportionable. He answered that 496 [the King of Spain] wou'd be willing to grant that number if he were in a condition, but considering that the greatest part of their Troops are in Sicily, and that they are threat^{ned} with an Invasion from France in two Places, that is, by the way of Roussillon and Navarre,¹ they cou'd not spare a man, but that they wou'd give 15,000 arms and Ammunition proportionable, and that money shou'd not be wanting to enable 507 to invade 165 [England].² . . .

I made 14/a another visit at his desire, and after some discourse he told me that 497 wou'd give five thousand men, of which four thousand are to be foot, a thousand Troopers, of which three hundred with their horses, the rest with their Arms and Accoutrements, and two months pay for them, ten

¹ Alberoni's plot to secure for Philip of Spain the succession to the French throne having been discovered, France declared war on January 9 [N.S.], 1719. England had already declared war on December 17, 1718.—*The Jacobite Attempt*, xxxi.

² Charles the Twelfth's death on December 11 [N.S.], 1718, put an end to all hopes of Sweden's co-operation.

field Pieces, and a thousand Barrels of Powder and fifteen Thousand Arms for foot, with every thing necessary to convoy them.

I told 14/*a* that it wou'd be necessary to have a Diversion made in 475 [Scotland], and since he cou'd not spare any more men, I desired him to let us have two or three thousand arms to send thither. He asked me if there was any man of consideration to go with them. I told him of 9/*m* [the Earl Marischal], who was in Paris, and he desired me to write to him to come with all despatch and as privately as possible. I will write to 14/*e* [Brigadier Campbell¹] to come hither as soon as I know where he is. As to the Gentlemen at Bordeaux, they shall have timely notice.

I am now in Valladolid, where 496 thought fitt I shou'd reside. 14/*a* desired me to let him have one in whom I cou'd confide to send to 507 to press him to invade England before the Spring, especially since 496 had come to a resolution of sending Troops, which he had not done when 21/*l* was despatched. 23/*b* [George Bagenal, Ormonde's aide-de-camp] is the person I left with 14/*a*. I expect him here every hour in his way to 508 [Sweden], and his Instructions are to tell 507 that no money will be given by 497 unless he consents to make an Attempt upon 165 in the time proposed.

¹ Brigadier Campbell of Ormidale. He had been imprisoned at Carlisle for taking part in the '15, but had escaped. He was at this time with other Jacobite exiles at Bordeaux.

23/*b* will have Instructions to propose to 507 to send two Thousand men to 475 with five Thousand Arms.

14/*a* seem'd very uneasy at your Situation in Italy. He fears that your person is not in Safety, considering the late inhuman Proceedings against the Princess.¹ He thinks Rome the worst place for you to be in, because of Elmore's [the Emperor's] Spys and the Difficulty you will have of getting privately from thence, and he does not think your person safer there than elsewhere. Upon what he says, and the letter I received from Morpeth [James Murray²] of the ninth November, it is my humble opinion that you ought to come to 497 [Spain] with all expedition, that you may be out of Elmore's power; and your presence is necessary here, either to Embark with the Troops, if you can arrive in Time, or to follow as soon as possible, for 14/*a* is of opinion that the Opportunity must not be lost tho' you shou'd not arrive in due time, and if it be possible, you ought to be here to go to 165 [England] with the Troops.

14/*a* desires that this design may be the Strictest Secret, and I beg of you not to acquaint Cardinal Aquaviva³ with it, and when you come away, to give it out that it is for your own Safety.

¹ The Princess Clementina Maria Sobieski, on her way to join the Chevalier, to whom she had been recently betrothed, was arrested by the Emperor's orders at Innspruck.

² The Hon. James Murray, second son of the fifth Viscount Stormont; created Earl of Dunbar by the Chevalier in 1721.

³ In charge of Spanish interests at Rome.



GEORGE TENTH EARL MARISCHAL

Memoir of Marshal Keith, 36.

The Duke of Ormonde . . . who was then in Paris . . . having discover'd the design of his journey [to Spain] to the Earl Marischall of Scotland, had promised him that if there was any thing to be done in Brittain, or if the Cardinal [Alberoni] wou'd take him into the Spanish service, he wou'd immediatly write to him ; and accordingly, in the beginning of December [1718] following, he received a letter desiring him to come to that country and to bring me along with him.¹

I was not at that time in a very fit condition to begin so long a journey, being not quite recover'd of a fit of sickness ; however, I set out as I was, and before I had got to Marseilles, the travelling and change of air had entirly recover'd me.

We embarked at that place in the beginning of the year 1719, and after some bad weather, arrived at Palamos on the coast of Catalonia.

Howsoon we landed, we were carried before the Commandant, who asked us what we were and whence we came from. We told him we came from France, but as to the other question, answer'd only that we were English officers who were going to Madrid to seek employment in the army, for the Duke of Ormonde had desir'd us to keep our journey private. He then asked us if we had any recom-

¹ The letter, dated Madrid, December 8 [N.S.], 1718, is in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. 9.

mendation to any at the Court of Madrid, and finding we had or at least wou'd own none, he told us he cou'd let us go no farther, for that coming from an enemies country, and giving so lame an account of ourselves, he must send us to the next governor, who was Dⁿ Tiberio Caraffa, Governor of Giron, who might dispose of us as he thought fit, and that there being then an Irish regiment in that place, commanded by the Duke of Liria,¹ perhaps we might find some of our countrymen there who might answer for us. The news of the Duke of Liria's being so near was no little agreeable to us, and we told him we ask'd no better, for that the Duke wou'd answer for us.

Accordingly, next morning we were sent to Gironne with a letter to the governor and a soldier, whom he told us he sent along because the roads were infested by robbers, but in reality to take care we did not make our escape. We arrived there in the evening, and having delivered the letter to the governor, he order'd us to be carried to the Duke's quarters to be examined, who was no little surprized at our appearance, and immediatly sent to acquaint the governor that he answer'd for the two gentlemen, but concealed our names at the desire of the Earl Marischal. We lodged that night with him, and finding him altogether ignorant of any intended enterprize on England, we concluded that we were sent for only to enter into the King of Spain's service, and therefore

¹ Son of the Duke of Berwick.

resolved to continue our route slowly to Madrid, without fatiguing ourselves by going post. We accordingly hired chairs there, and two days after arrived at Sⁿ Andreu, hard by Barcelona, and from thence sent a letter from the Duke of Liria to Prince Pio of Savoy, who was then Captain General of that province, begging him to allow us to come in to the town without being examined at the Ports; and about an hour after, we saw a coach and six mules (the first equipage of the kind I had ever seen) with the Prince's livery at the door of our inn. This surprised us, and still more the respect his Doctor, whom he had sent in his coach to receive us, paid to two strangers he had never seen. The reason, which we did not know till long after, was, that some days before, he had received letters from the Cardinal that King James wou'd arrive very soon in some of the Ports of Catalonia incognito, that he shou'd receive him in the same manner, and take care to provide every thing for the despatch of his journey to Madrid. This, with the Duke of Liria's letter, occasioned our entry into Barcelona in this manner; and I believe he was sorry to have given himself so much trouble about us when he knew who we were; yet he received us very civilly, tho' with some embarrass.

As we did not open ourselves farther to him than telling our true names, so he told us no more than that he believed it wou'd be fit we set out immediatly for Madrid, which we did next morning, after vieuing the new citadelle he was building, and which he

allowed us to visit ; and after fifteen days journey we arriv'd at that place, and the same evening sent to acquaint the Cardinal we were come. He order'd us to attend him early next morning ; and we had no sooner made him our reverence than he asked us why we had been so long on the way, it being eight days since he had accounts from Barcelona of our being there. We answered, that tho' we had been desired to come to Spain, yet not knowing that his Eminence had any pressing commands for us, we had come by the ordinary way of travelling of the country. He told us the business pressed ; that it was to execute an enterprize on England in favour of its lawfull master ; that the Duke of Ormonde was already set out to embarck at the Groine for England ; and it was resolved he, the Earl Marischall, shou'd go to Scotland ; but that he must know what he wanted for the expedition, and in what manner he designed to act when there ; to which the other answer'd, that as he did not know the plan the Duke of Ormonde had layed down, and as both parts most go in concert, he beged leave to go to Valladolid, where the Duke then was,¹ and that in three or four days he shou'd be back, fully instructed in every thing which might conduce to the good of the affair ; to which the Cardinal consented. . . .

Five days after, the Earl Marischall return'd, having

¹ Ormonde left Valladolid for Corunna on February 10 [N.S.]. The Earl Marisohal overtook him on February 12.—*The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, xxxiv, xxxv.

been obliged to follow the Duke of Ormonde to Benevente,¹ and immediatly went to the Cardinal and settled the plan of the undertaking. He asked four thousand arms and ten thousand pistolls; but the furnishing the Duke of Ormonde had so drained their magazins as well as their treasury, that all he cou'd get was 2000 arms and 5000 pistolls, with six companies of foot² to cover his landing.

On February 8 [N.S.], at about the time of the Keiths' arrival at Madrid, the Chevalier set out from Rome, in conformity with Ormonde's advice, whose letter of December 17 had reached him on January 26 [N.S.], 1719.

*Mar to Lord Panmure.*³

The King, finding that it was no longer fitt for him to be in Italie, resolved to leave it, but some adress was necessary to make his passage out of it practicable and safe. He determind to go by sea and w^t only a very few of his servants who attend his person. He was pleased to order that the Duke of Perth⁴ and I should go together by another rout

¹ Ormonde writes to Alberoni on February 13 [N.S.] from Astorga, announcing that Marischal had met him there the previous evening.—*The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. 60.

² They were a composite force, consisting of twelve men drawn from each of the 24 companies of Don Pedro de Castro's regiment of foot, and numbered three hundred and seven, including officers.—*The Historical Register for the years 1717-1738*, vol. iv. 281.

³ In *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, pp. 206 *et seq.* The letter is dated from Rome, March 21 [N.S.], 1719.

⁴ James Marquis of Drummond. He succeeded to the titular Dukedom in 1716.

and endeavour to join him at a place appointed. His Majesty toke the advice of those who he thought fittest to advise with as to the way he was to go, and also as to the rout for the Duke of Perth and I, both w^{ch} were followed accordingly. The rout we went was once thought of for his Majesty, but happie it was that he chose the other, as you'll see by what happend to us. After the Kings choseing to go the other way, it was thought that our going off about the same time he did, in chairs by the way of fflorance and so to Bologna, as if intending to meet the Princess (the reason w^{ch} was given out for the kings leaveing of Rome), was the way to blind the publick and prevent for some time the discovery of his real designe; so that his Majesty sett out from Rome towards the cost the 8th of ffeb. [N.S.] very airly, and imbarkt and sailed that evening in a shipe that was reddy prepaired for him.¹ The Duke of Perth and I, about two hours after his Majesty, sett out in three chairs w^t our servants on purpose to make it appear as if the King had been in the company, and the bite toke as you'll see. We continued our journie to Bologna without endeavouring to make great heast, as was concerted, in case his Majesty had not got saild so soon as he intended. . . .

ffrom Bologna we went the rout that had been given us, towards Genoa by Modena, Parma, and

¹ He embarked at Nettuno on a ship prepared for him by Admiral George Cammock, an Englishman in the Spanish service, — *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, xxxiii,

Piacensa; and when we came two posts further to Vogera, on fryday morning, 17th of ffeb., a post short of Tortona, where there is a German garison, and where we apprehended difficulty if we met w^t any, we were told at the posthouse that we could have no horses without an order from the Majestrats of the toun. As we were thinking upon this what was next to be done, The Podesta of the Toun, as they call the chife Majestrat for the Emperour, an Italian, and a German Livetenant Colonel came into the room where we were and askt if we had a passport, and whither we were a going, and who we were; we told that we were going for ffrance by Turin; that one of us was a ffrench man, Mr. Le Brun (the name the Duke of Perth went by), and the other two English, Mr. Johnston, and Robertson (the names for me and Paterson); that we had mett at Rome, where we had been for severall months for our diversion and curiosity, and were now a returning to our own countrys; that we did not know a pasport to be necessary, haveing had none when we came into the country, and knew of severall of our acquaintances who had o' late gone back for ffrance without any. Then said they, we cannot help stoping you here til we give an account of you at Millan . . . [and] so on we were caried to the Podesta's house, w^{ch} is in the toun house, and there we were kept til Sunday morning the 19th under a gard of ten or twelve souldiers. . . . An express was immediatly sent upon our comeing into the Podesta's house to Millan w^t

an account of us. . . . They lookt much at us the time they were writeing their letters, and particularly at the D. of Perth, by w^{ch} we imagind they belived the King to be in the company.

Mar and Perth were conveyed to Milan, and it was confidently reported that the Chevalier had been arrested. After a short imprisonment they were released, and returned to Rome.¹ The Chevalier meanwhile had proceeded safely on his voyage to Spain.

*Alberoni to Ormonde.*²

By the Courier whom I despatched to you on Monday, March 13 [N.S.], you will have learnt that King James had landed at Rosas [on March 9, N.S.], and to day I expect he will set out from Barcelona on his way to Madrid, where he will hardly arrive before the 25th or 26th of this month. . . . He has risked destruction a hundred times from the Storms he experienced. For three days he remained at Marseilles, concealed in the house of the Master of the Ship on which he had embarked. He was bled for a Fever, and was obliged to lie close hidden at Villafranca for 24 hours. At the islands off Hyères, near Toulon, he was compelled to share the accommodation of a Miserable Inn with a crowd of dirty Wretches, and though he was suffering from seasickness, to dance with the Landlady, it being Carnival time. He was pursued, also, by two English Vessels.

¹ Mar's letter relates the remainder of his journey. Cf. *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, xxxiii.

² This letter, written in French, is in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, pp. 219-21. It is dated from Madrid, March 18 [N.S.].

A month before the Chevalier's arrival in Spain, the Duke of Ormonde had left Valladolid for Corunna to await the arrival of the Spanish fleet, which was being equipped at Cadiz. The fleet sailed on March 7 [N.S.], two days before the Chevalier's arrival at Rosas. It consisted of twenty-nine sail, with five thousand troops on board. On March 16 [N.S.] Ormonde had news that it had sailed. But on March 29 [N.S.], the fleet encountered a storm which scattered the squadron, and the Chevalier, who arrived at Corunna to embark on April 17 [N.S.], learnt that the enterprise had completely failed and perforce must be abandoned.

Meanwhile, ignorant of the disaster, the Earl Marischal had already sailed from Passage for Scotland on March 8 [N.S.],¹ having despatched his brother, James Keith, to summon to Scotland the Jacobite refugees in France.²

Memoir of Marshal Keith, 41.

One difficulty still remain'd, which was, to get the chiefs of the King's friends who were in France advertised . . . which the Cardinal desired me to undertake. The Earl Marischal had brought with him from the Duke of Ormonde a little billet containing these words—'Pray have entire confidence in the bearer,' and signed Ormond,³ to be given to him who shou'd be sent; and with this and about 18,000 crowns, I set out from Madrid the 19 of

¹ The evidence is conflicting as to the date of the Earl's departure. His two frigates appear to have been obliged to put into Santander under stress of weather. Cf. *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, xxxv.

² The letters relating to Ormonde's futile project are printed in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*. Mr. Dickson's Introduction, xxxiv *et seq.*, sums up their contents.

³ Dated February 15 [N.S.], 1719. —Mar's *Distinct Abridgement*, in T. L. K. Oliphant's *Jacobite Lairds of Gask* [Lond. 1870], 451.

February [N.S.], and three days after arrived at St Sebastian, where I deliver'd 12,000 crowns to the Prince [of] Campo Florido for the equipement of the frigats destin'd for Scotland, and with the little money which remained, enter'd France privatly. I . . . pass'd without any difficulty, and got to Bourdeaux in the end of February, where I mett General Gordon, Brigadeer Campbell, and some others, to whom I deliver'd my message, and left them some money to hire ships to transport themselves to Scotland ; only Brigadeer Campbell went to Spain to embark at Sⁿ Sebastian with the Earl Marischall. The greatest difficulty I had in my journey was how to get post horses from this place. . . . To obviate this difficulty I made use of another person, who, not being suspected, asked horses for himself and one servant to go to Paris, and as such I set out with him, and the 3d of March arrived at Orleans, where I found the Marquess of Tullibardine, who, according to my orders, I carried along with me to Paris next day.

Howsoon I got there, I advertised the Marquess of Seafort, who immediatly came to the house where I was, and brought along with him a brother of Lord Duffus's, and some while after came in Campbell of Glenderuel. I told them the reason of my coming, and showed them the short credentials I had brought from the Duke of Ormonde. Glenderuel smiled at reading them, and told me that that billet wou'd have been of little weight with them, had they not been already advertised by the Duke of Marr to

obey what orders the Duke of Ormonde shou'd send. This plainly let me see that we had two factions amongst us, and which proved the occasion of our speedy ruin when we landed in Scotland. However, they agreed to obey the orders, and I went away next day to Rowen [Rouen] to provide a ship for them, which in ten days I got fitted out by the help of a merchant there, and ready to put to sea. Howsoon this was done, I wrote to them to come down with all hast, the ship being already at Havre de Grace. When they arrived, Glenderuel asked me if I had seen General Dillon¹ while I was at Paris. I told him I had not; that General Dillon being at S^t Germain, I durst not venture to go there, being too well known not to be discover'd; and that tho' the interest of those there was the same as ours, yet their imprudence was so great that they were not to be trusted with a secret, which, shou'd it take vent, must occasion our being stopt at the instance of the Earl of Stair, then Embassador from the Court of England; that besides, having no instructions to communicate any thing to him, I made no doubt but he had been advertised by some other canal.²

Glenderuel declared he did not think those reasons valid, and that Dillon shou'd be advertised of this,

¹ General Arthur Dillon had been outlawed in 1690. At present he was acting as the Chevalier's agent at Paris.

² Dillon had been informed of the project in a letter from Mar, dated January 30 [N.S.], 1719. It is printed in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, xxxii.

and desired to let us know if the King (whose affairs he was then intrusted with at Paris) had given him no particular instructions on this head. This was the pretence ; the true reason was, to get a commission which they knew he had in his hands, and was design'd for the King of Sweden's expedition in the year 1717, by which the King constituted the Marquess of Tullibardine Commander in chieff of his forces in Scotland. This Glenderuel thought absolutely necessary for his own private ends, being surer to govern the easy temper of the Marquess than of those who otherwise wou'd naturally have the command of the army, and particularly to prevent its falling into the hands of General Gordon, with whom he was not in very good intelligence.

The day before we embarked, the express they had sent to Paris returned with a paquet from General Dillon, of which they showed a letter full of common place advices relating to the conduct we shou'd hold in Scotland, but not a word of the commissions, which they kept to be drawn out on proper occasions.

All things being now ready, we embark'd the 19th of March [N.S.] in a small barck of about 25 tunns in the mouth of the Seine, and shaped our course to pass betwixt Dover and Calais, and so round the Orkneys to the Isle of Lewis, which was our place of rendezvous ; but the wind continuing at east forced us the Friday after, March 24, to alter our course and stand away for St. George's Channel, or the

back of Ireland, as we shou'd think best. Two days after, we came up with the land's end in the evening, and about two hours after found our selves in the middle of a fleet, seven of which had out lights and the others none ; these we conjectured to be men of war, and the rest transports ; and finding the number of the former to agree with what the Duke of Ormonde had, I made no doubt but it was his fleet ; however, the wind being favourable, we passed thro' them without speaking to them, in which we were very lucky, for it proved a squadron of English men of war transporting a body of troops from Ireland to England, where they had at last got the news of the invasion intended against them.¹

From thence we stood for Cape Clear and the west coast of Ireland, and after favourable but blowing weather, arrived the 4 of April, N.S. [March 24, O.S.]² in the isle of Lewis, where we enquired if no ship had touched there lately from Spain, or if there was no particular news in the country ; but finding them

¹ Since January the English Government had a general knowledge that some hostile enterprise was contemplated by Alberoni. On March 4 [N.S.] Stair was able to give precise information of the destination of Ormonde's fleet. Prompt measures were taken. Fleets were sent to cruise off the Lizard and in the Bay of Biscay, and troops were summoned from Ireland and Holland.—*The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, xxxviii *et seq.*

² The date was April 2 [N.S.], or March 22 [O.S.], according to Mar's *Abridgement*. Writing within a few months of the facts he describes, and upon information supplied by Tullibardine, he is probably more correct as to the chronology of the expedition than Keith.

ignorant of any thing that cou'd give us light into what we wanted to be informed of, we remain'd there some days, and at last had accounts that two frigats were come to an anchor on the other side of the island, on which I went with all hast there. not doubting but it was those we were longing for. I found them allready sailed, but a gentleman of the country informed me that they were the same, and were gone some miles farther to Stornoway, the only toun, or rather village, on all the island. I went the same night there, and found them in the harbour at an anchor, and the men still aboard.

*Mar's Distinct Abridgement.*¹

Next day [March 30] they all mett, and L^d Marishall produced his instructions from the Duke of Ormond, which gave power to him or any superiour officer to make war upon the usurper when and where they thought most convenient: accordingly his L^{op} proposed immediately goeing to arms without any regard to a landing [by Ormonde] in England, which for many reasons was against the oppinion of the others present, except Brig: Campbell of Ormadale —Considering what a blow the Highlands had received very few years before. which was so fresh in the people's memory, that they would not be easiely brought to the field againe without greater encouragement than what his L^{op} brought; for to press things

¹ *Mar's Distinct Abridgement of some Materiall Poynts relating to Scotts Affairs* was sent by him to Lord Nairne in August 1719. It is printed in Oliphant's *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 450-64.

rashly on so slender a foundation might disconcert the King's affairs when a reall opportunity offer'd, besides ruine any that would be so foreward as to stirr if the designs on England should happen to miscarry, which would prove a mighty disadvantage to his Majesty's interest, as well as bring destruction on the countrey. My L^d Marishall alleadged the Duke of Ormond might be landed, and time would be lost if the Highlanders were not immediately call'd to arms.¹ The others sustain'd that a general riseing might be as quick and easier upon the certainty of a landing in England, a partiall riseing being precarious; besides, that it could not answer the end of people's appearing for the service as things were stated. The day after, my L^d Tullibardine by advyce produced his Commission of Lieutenant Generall, on which L^d Marishall quite his pretensions to a sole command, but still insisted in haveing the charge of the ships,² which created a good dale of trouble, tho he was likewise obliged to renounce any particullar authority over them, and allso to give up most things else; only his L^{op}

¹ Marischal's party supported 'the project which the Earl Marischall had proposed to the Cardinal, to land as soon as possible in Scotland, and with the Spaniards and Highlanders who shou'd first join us, march straight to Inverness.' They urged, too, the danger of remaining in the Lewis, where the enemy's fleet might cut them off entirely from the mainland.—*Memoir of Marshal Keith*, 47.

² Marischal contended that he had received positive orders from Alberoni as to the ships. Tullibardine's superior commission had come to him from Dillon.—*Ibid.* 46, 48.

retain'd a fifth part of the money which was sent for the publick use. He told, the Duke of Ormond had desired him not to ask much of the Cardinall, lest he should grant nothing, and that he only required the 300 men for a guaird to the arms and ammunition. L^d Seaforth, seeing what slender encouragement there was for rising disarm'd people, was not only against going to arms before a landing in England, but allso would by no means hear of stirring out of the Louis till the account came; all were against that, because it might prove of ill consequence by contrare winds hindering the news to come, and opposite gales would allso stop going to the mainland; besides, if friggats came on the coast, it would then be impossible to waft over at any rate. However, it was with the greatest difficulty his L^{op} was perswaded to move; at length, April the 4th, O.S., the wind permitting, they saild to the mainland, but could only fetch Garloch, where there was only a rumour of the landing in England. However, supposing it certaine, L^d Tullibardine wrote to the Clans and Gentlemen in the Highlands, requiring them to goe to arms, and Glenderuell went by land to gett the letters deliver'd. On the 6th, the wind favouring,¹ they lous'd from Garloch, but a storm rising in the night, they were drove back on the 7th to Stornoway, and could not saile till the 11th, and

¹ According to Keith, the pilots 'declared that the wind was still contrary for the port we intended,' but 'Tullibardine's impatience compelled them to sail.—*Memoir*, 48.

then only made the poynt of Garloch; the next day the wind drove them againe within 4 leagues of Stornoway, but on the 13th the wind changeing, they came safe to ane anchor that night at Ileandonnan,¹ which was thought the fittest place for debarquation, tho it was the 28th before the arms and everything else could be gott ashoar, for want of boats and other conveniences.²

The 14th, Glenderuell return'd with a Gentleman of no small consideration, who was hearty and very ready for the service the minute there came any certainty of the Landing, and told that was the advyce came from the King's freinds both in Scotland and England. On the 17th, the Lords Seafort and Marishall with severall Gentlemen of the Mackenzies came to see L^d Tullibardine, and amongst other discourse, L^d Marishall began to talk of goeing to arms without expecting the Duke of Ormond's landing, and without more adoe alleadged the meeting was a Councill of war, haveing no ways apprys'd those who were then chiefly concern'd in calling it or officers on such occasions, which appear'd to L^d Tullibardine the more extraordinary that there came at the same time a letter from Brig: Campbell of

¹ Castle Eilean Donan, a stronghold of the Mackenzies, stands on an island at the head of Loch Alsh, and overlooks Loch Long and Loch Duich.

² 'A Person who came this day from the Rebels Quarters, which he left the first [of May] Instant, reports, That they are lodg'd in Houses and Huts built by themselves, within two Miles of the Place where they landed.'—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 279.

Ormadale, who it seems was not weell, however, thought fitt to send his oppinion to a Councill of war that had never been thought of, wherin he declares it was his oppinion that it appear'd most advantageous to the King's interest not to waite for any further news of the D. of Ormond's landing or a General assembly of the Clans, but that the Marquis of Seaforth and ane other Gentleman should rise some of their men, not doubting but Clanranald and Lochiell (who were then landed and comeing) would joyne their men for secureing some post with the Spainards to favour the diversion intended; on which L^d Marishall would likeways let the Company know his mind in wryteing, as it seems was before concerted, that as he had declar'd at Stornoway, his oppinion was, that according to the D. of Ormond's instructions, his Majesty's forces ought to be assembled, it being for the King's service that they should be immediately employed in secureing some post where not only the Highlands, but the Gentlemen of the Low countrey might more securely joyn, or whatever other expedition is judged most for the service, and that they were not to waite any news of the D. of Ormond's landing, considering the distance; however, the Generallity did not think his Grace's instructions meant that people should endeavour to force a riseing at all hazards on so small a foundation, especially since there was no directions how to behave on all events in case of any accident or disappointment as to the main designe. My

L^d Seafort was not against giving opinions in writing, but declar'd his mind was still the same as he had told in the Lewis, thinking it folly and destruction to stirr without a landing in England, and the Gentlemen of his name agreed that all their endeavours would be to no purpose, for men could not be brought in earnest to the field before that time ; and since Clanranald with Lochiell were expected in a day or two, they could certainly give the best account of their own people. On the 20th Clanranald and Lochiell being arrived, as also Mac-kinnon and the Chisme [Chisholm], everybody mett. Brig: Campbell then proposed that the Spainards and Chieffs of Clans should continue where they were till the account of a landing in England, and that about 1000 men should be rised out of the estates of the attainted and sent to attaque Innerness under the command of the Earle Marishall, whose reputation and character might make an attempt of that kind succeed. Clanranald answered, they were first to consider what way such a number of men was to be rised, since those that were not attainted would not readiely follow their Chiefs without a generall riseing, The people over all the Kingdome being equally safe, tho the persons of some Gentlemen were attainted ; besides, the Highlanders could not fight against walls ; that all Clyton's regiment¹

¹ Colonel Clayton was in command of a regiment of foot. For a return of the troops employed in Scotland at this time, *vide The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. 284.

would be there long before them, and the town [Inverness] could rise six or seven hundred militia, whose fire from the houses would quickly disperse their men, the consequence of which may be easily imagined; but supposing they succeeded, how could they keep it if there was not a speedy landing in England. The Brigadier answered, in that case (it being a seaport) they could easily save themselves and the men by transporting all to Spain. The generallity thought making a bustle with such views as these would do more disservice to the King than any of them could well answer for. The discourse continued thus till it was late; next day every one met againe except L^d Marishall. All who had followings saw projects of that kind were destructive to the service, and were entirely against a rising before it could be general; but in case of being attack'd where they were, they would endeavour to defend themselves, that all might be preserved against the landing which they daily expected; and lest that miscarried, it was thought necessary the ships should be sent to a place of safety to carry back the Spainards. In the mean time, Clanranald with Lochiell went away to secure their proportion of arms and ammunition.

Nevertheless on the 28th (before all the stores were well got on shoar) Lord Tullibardine was inform'd that the captains of the frigats, having L^d Marishall's dispatches, were resolved to wait no

longer on any account whatsoever,¹ and accordingly next morning fell down to the Calliach's Stone in their way out to sea. Lord Tullibardine, finding nothing could make them stay hardly one day for his letters, however necessary, was therefore obliged to give them his consent on [April] the 30th.

The 29th, my L^d Seafort wrote a note to L^d Tullibardine, that a party was come from Innerness and were to be joyned by some disaffected Highlanders to surprize them in Lochalsh, desireing proper measures might be taken to prevent any such attempt; on which L^d Tullibardine acquainted his L^{op}, that if he would rise some of his men, he would wryte desireing Clanranald and Lochiell, with any others that would joyn, to doe the same. My L^d Seafort agreed; upon which orders were wrote accordingly, and the more pressing, that on the first of May there came confident reports that the D. of Ormond was landed; but on the 4th, Mr. Wallace arriv'd from the King's freinds at Edin^r, assuring that the Spainsh fleet was dispersed and drove back by storme, advyseing by all means they should

¹ Keith asserts, and the caution which characterised Tullibardine's conduct supports the statement, that Tullibardine contemplated embarking his force and returning to Spain forthwith, and that Marischal despatched the frigates to prevent him from putting his design into execution.—*Memoir*, 49. A Spanish lieutenant, captured at Eilean Donan, informed Lord Carpenter at Edinburgh that his Colonel was resolved to return to Spain when he saw how few Highlanders were ready to join, but that 'at last he was prevailed with to stay, and to let them [the frigates] sail.'—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 282.

immediately reembarque the 300 men, and everybody gett off as quickly as possible. But the ships being gone, there was no retreating; at the same time there was a letter from a person of consequence, telling it would ruine the King's freinds and affairs if they pretended to make a stirre as things stood; on which L^d Tullibardine sent to Clanranald and Lochiell, desireing they would come to Isleandonan, that joynt measures might be taken how to behave most for the service under such a precarious situation; at the same time advysed them to leave such directions that their men might on all events be in the same readiness to follow them as if they had been present. On the 9th they returned, and the same evening three English men of war came to anchor at Caliach's stone.¹ While there was hopes of a landing, the great quantity of ammunition was lodged in a countrey house near the Crow of Kintaile, but when the accounts came of the fleets being dispers'd, there was no way of preserveing it in ane open place; upon which the Castle of Isleandonan being visited, it was found, by putting it there with a small guaird, the old walls and vaults would be sufficient to keep it from any flying party by land or attaque by sea. Accordingly it was put there in the best manner with all the dilligence the

¹ The ships were the *Worcester*, Captain Boyle; the *Enterprize*, Captain Herdman; the *Flamborough*, Captain Hedgesley. —Captain Boyle's despatch of May 12, in *Historical Register*, vol. iv. 281.

difficultys they had to struggle with could permitt, and Capt. Stapleton with a Spainsh Lieutennent and above 40 souldiers were sent to garrison the place.

On the 10th in the morning, the three ships came up and anchor'd within musquet shot of the Castle.¹ They were no sooner moor'd than they begun to fire on the place, which continued the whole day, but the walls being very thick they could not make a breach; however, one of the Spainards desearted to the Ennimy, informing them that their lieutennent would deliver the place at discretion. Captain Stapleton imediately sent a Highlander ashoar with the account of what had pass'd among the Spainards, on which their Cap: Commandant was ordered to goe and comand them with more men, and directions to blow up the place if he found it could not

¹ Captain Boyle's despatch gives the following account: 'At nine in the morning [of May 10], I sent my Lieutenant towards the Fort with a Flag of Truce to demand them to surrender; but they firing at the Boat, he returned. About four in the Afternoon, a Deserter wavy'd to us from the side of the Camp, who being brought off, informed us that the Camp was of about 4700 Men and daily increasing. At eight in the Evening we brought our Ships to play upon the Castle with a great Fire, under the Cover of which I detached two Boats manned and armed, under the Command of two Lieutenants, who landed at the Foot of the Castle, attacked and took it after a small resistance. Thinking it proper (as the Camp lay within two Miles) to blow the Place up, I sent Captain Herdman of the Enterprize on that Service, who perform'd it effectually, after having first sent off the Prisoners, with 343 Barrels of Powder, 52 Barrels of Musket-Shot, 200 Weight each, and some Bags of Meal.'—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 280.

be kep'd, which might have very much shatter'd the ships, if not sunk them ; but the tyde would not allow him to enter before ten of the Clock at night, and they surrend'rd to the ship's boats at 8, without any resistance nor so much as one man kill'd or wounded. In the afternoon the smallest ship¹ sail'd up to the Crow, and fir'd so hard on a detachment of 30 Spainards who guarded some of the Ammunition there, that they were obliged to blow it up.

In short, when Clanranald, Lochiell, and all had mett, my Lord Seafort declar'd he could bring out no men while the men of war were about his cost, on which Clanranald and Lochiell went home to be ready against the first favourable accounts from abroad to make ane effectuall riseing ; for as things stood, there was no possibility of bringing people togeather, especially since there was none but Clanranald and Lochiell would so much as receive any proportion of arms, except my Lord Seaforth, who did not send for his till after the men of war came upon them.

The way by sea being cutt off to the Crow, they were oblidge to march on the 13th by the head of Loch Long,² and transported all the arms with 3 or

¹ The *Flamborough*.—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 281.

² A portion, at least, of the force made its way to the head of Loch Carron, near Loch Kishorn, where two British men-of-war, the *Assistance* and *Dartmouth*, were at anchor. Several encounters took place between the ships' boats and the insurgents.—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 282.

4 boatfulls of ammunition thither, thinking to have carryed the whole from thence by land to the Crow, but could at no rate gett any baggage horse, therefore were oblidge to return it with great difficulty by sea under night, least they should be stopt by the ships, and so got the stores past Isleandonan to the Crow. A day or two after they came to Gleneligag [Glen Elchaig] at the head of Loch Long, my L^d Marishall, the Brigadeers Campbell of Ormadale and Mackintosh,¹ who were still endeavouring a riseing at any rate, acquainted L^d Tullibardine that L^d Seafort was then satisfyed to march to a Rendezvouse out of his own countrey, upon which L^d Tullibardine went² to know of his L^{op} how the matter stood, and what new resolutions he would have taken. The answer was, that L^d Tullibardine might march with the Spainards to Killiwhiman [Fort Augustus], and that Clanranald and Lochiell should joyn at that place with their men, and his L^{op} would meet them with 100 men, and that he would order as many to follow as could be spar'd from guairding the coast. L^d Tullibardine said that to stirr out of the countrey so near the Ennimy without a body of men would expose their weakness, and show the world that none would join them, but if his L^{op} would allow him to acquaint

¹ Mackintosh of Borlum.

² The disagreement between Marischal and Tullibardine appears to have resulted in their occupying different camps at three miles' distance from each other. The Spaniards encamped with Tullibardine.—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 283.

Clanranald and Lochiell, that he would meet them on a day of *Randevvouse* to be named with 3 or 400 men, or else a battalion, without mentioning the number of which it should consist ; in that case there was a probability these Gentlemen would undertake something effectually, and then they might stand their ground till others joyn'd, if there was still hopes of a quick descent, otherways they would have a very difficult task. L^d Seaforth said there was no promiseing on any number of men ; however, he would try what could be done, and took a warrand to that effect. However, the execution of what regairded that designe was lay'd aside for a few days by a rumour which was spread abroad and confidently reported, that the Regular troops, with the Frazers and other Highlanders who were thought to be disaffected, were marching against them, and would be at Gleneligag in two days at farthest ; on which L^d Seaforth sent desireing to meet with L^d Tullibardine, and proposed, that since there was no possibility to oppose them, they too should leave everything and immediately goe off togeather. Both agreed there was no opposeing such a force, but Tullibardine said, that tho it were certaine, they ought once to see them and at least endeavour some way to secure the arms, ammunition, etc. : and if better could not be, even tho they were forced to give all up, yet it was necessary they should endeavour to abscond amongst the hills till the King's orders came how to dispose of them-

selves, which his L^{op} agreed to, and charged himself with acquainting my L^d Marishall of what had pass'd ; on which, next day, that Lord and Brig: Campbell of Ormadale came to L^d Tullibardine, desireing under his hand that they might goe and doe for themselves. He answer'd he had seen nothing certaine of the Ennimy's motion, but if they were so near as was given out, there would be no occasion for liberty to dispose of themselves, since it would soon but too plainly appear impracticable that any of them could keep togeather under such difficultys as they were unavoydably oblided to wrestle with. The story proveing false, and the arms being transported, as is said, before they marched to the Crow of Kintaile [on] May the [13th], the same day L^d Tullibardine received a letter from the King's freinds att Edin^r dated the 11th, telling private letters seem'd positive that the Spainsh fleet was repair'd and might be allready sail'd, or at least quickly would ; allso there was ane article from London of the 7th which said, at last a lyne is come from the D. of Ormond, and his freinds here recomend and wish that those in the north of Scotland may keep possession and support themselves the best way they can, for that the Duke will certainly send them supplys ; besides, about the same time, there were other encourageing letters from different hands, which gave L^d Tullibardine a handle of wryteing on the 21st to severall as weell as to Clanranald and Lochiell, earnestly desireing they would come, if it

were but with few of their people, and more might follow by degrees, which would give little umbrage, and could hardly be observed; but on the letter from Edinburgh, he could not help sending fresh orders to them and others, requireing without loss of a minute they would march immediately with what people could be gott togeather, and leave directions for the rest to follow by degrees as they should be ready.¹ Lord Seafort then went to Loch Carron, and by his presence endeavour'd to bring up his people, which he found would be no easie task. At length on the 4th of June, Lochiell came up first with above 100 men to Glensheall, where L^d Tullibardine with the Spainards mett him on the 5th, takeing up their quarters there, it being the strongest ground in those parts. On the 7th they had severall accounts, particullarly from the Chisme of Strathglass, that the Ennimy were marching from Innerness, calling for arms and ammunition to the Laird of Glenmoristone and himself, who were comeing with about 100 men and designed to observe the Ennimy's motion, and would joyne before they could be near them. The arms and ammunition were sent according to his desire, but there came no further accounts from either of them after. The passes in little Glensheall being view'd [on] the 6th, it was belived that rough ground might be mentain'd till the people who were ex-

¹ 'Not above a thousand men appeared,' says Keith, 'and even those seemed not very fond of the enterprize.'—*Memoir*, 51.

pected could come, which L^d Seafort did next day to the Crow with about 400 men, who it was thought would briskly defend their own countrey.

Late on the 8th there were accounts that the Ennimy had moved from Killiwhiman¹ to the Braes of Glenmoriston. Lord Tullibardine haveing acquainted L^d Seafort, next day he came from the Crow, 3 miles distant, with his men to Glensheall, from whence they all marched with the Spainards (except about 50 who were sick and left at the magazine) to the Little Glen, where all posted themselves in the pass which was thought properest for defence. That evening ane hundred men of a friend's² joyn'd them, and Lord George Murray, who was on the out guaird, sent word he saw the Ennimy encamp on the head of Lochelumie [Loch Clunie], which was about 4 miles from them. Next morning he sent againe to tell they were decamped and moveing slowly foreward. Soon after, 50 men of the nighbourhood joyn'd them, and likeways some of Lochiell's, besides Mackinnon with 50 more, which were the last, for the severall men that ought to have been with them were on both sides of the

¹ Fort Augustus. Wightman marched from Inverness on June 5, halted a day at the head of Loch Ness, and on the 10th proceeded from Strath Clunie to the Pass of Glenshiel.—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 283, 284.

² In 'Tullibardine's letter to Mar describing the battle, this 'friend' is called 'Mr Lidcoat.' Mr. Dickson suggests 'Lidcoat' as a possible pseudonym for Glengarry (*The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, l., 270); but *cf.* *Portland MSS.*, vol. v. 587.

Glen on the tops of the mountains, many by 12 of the Clock, and the rest before four ; yet they did not descend to incorporate as was expected, perhaps they thought the Ennimy too near,¹ who as they advanced, L^d George retyr'd, keeping about half a mile from them, till they came in sight of the pass, which was near two in the afternoon, when they halted at above a quarter of a mile's distance to refresh their men and make a disposition for the attaque, which began at full six at night.

The King's people² had drawn up to the right of their main body, on the other side of the little water which runs through the Glen ; upon a little hill to the southward about 150 men, includeing 2 companys of L^d Seafort's, besides 80 more, were allotted for that place, who were to have come from the top of the mountaine above them, but tho they sent twice that they were comeing, yet they only beheld the scuffle at a distance. This party to the right on the little hill was commanded by L^d George Murray, the

¹ In the official account published in the *London Gazette* this force is described as being 'posted on a Hill in order to make themselves Masters of our Baggage, it being always one of their chief Aims.'—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 284.

² Keith thus describes the strength of the position:—'Our right was cover'd by a rivulet which was difficult to pass, and our left by a ravine, and in the front the ground was so rugged and steep that it was almost impossible to come at us.'—*Memoir*, 51. Wightman states in his despatch:—'Their Dispositions for Defence were extraordinary, with the Advantages of Rocks, Mountains, and Intrenchments.'—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 283. The position entirely commanded Wade's military road, along which Wightman was marching from the east.

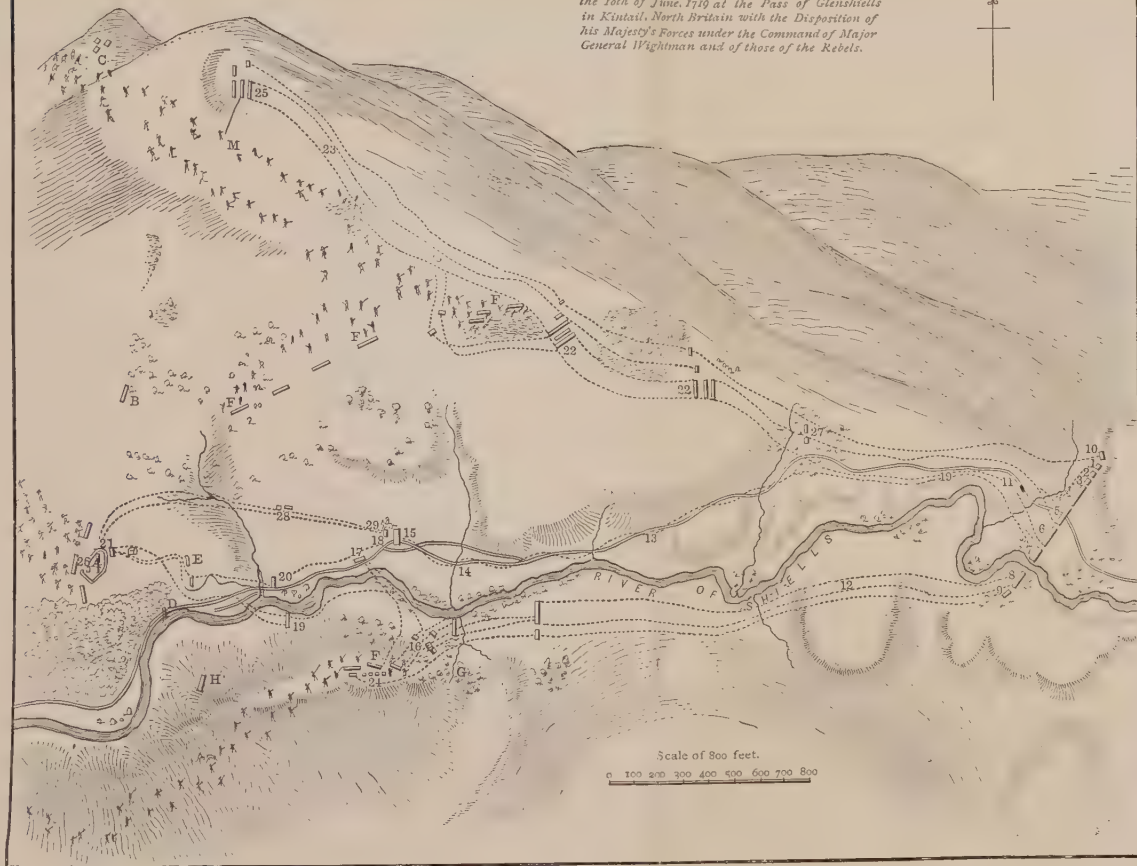
REFERENCES TO THE PLAN

1. A Sergt. and 12 Grenadiers.
2. An Officer and 24 do.
3. Main Body of Grenadiers, 120 in Num.
4. Col. Montagu's Regmt.
5. Col. Harrison's Detacht Battalion.
6. Huffel's Regmt. and 4 Companies of Amerongen's.
7. Dragoons.
8. Col. Clayton's Regiment.
9. The Monro's Highlanders.
10. The Sutherland's Right.
11. The first march by y^e Right.
12. Clayton's march by the Left.
13. The Dragoons march to the Plain.
14. The Dragoons Halt.
15. The Dragoons advance to the middle of the Plain.
16. Clayton's four Platoonis and the Monro's making y^e First Attack on y^e Rebels Right.
17. Cohorn Mortars throwing Granades at the Rebel where y^e First Attack was Ordered.
18. Cohorn Mortars throwing Granades at y^e Spaniards in their Entrenchments.
19. Part of Clayton's attacks the Barricade of the Pass.
20. 35 Dragoons on Foot attack the Spaniards Breast Works.
21. The Dragoons mount the Hill.
22. Our March in line of Battle to the Rock where the Attack began under y^e command of Col. Clayton.
23. Our Right pursue the Rebels.
24. The Platoonis and the Monro's halt upon the Hill, having putt the Enemy to the Flight.
25. Our Right halts upon y^e Mountain.
26. Part of Clayton's takes possession of y^e Hill that commanded the Pass.
27. Guard for the Baggage and place for the Hospital.
28. The Bagage advanced with the wounded men for their security.
29. Majr.-Genl. Whightman giving his directions during the Action.

REFERENCES TO THE ENEMY

- A. A Spanish Regiment posted on the Hill that commanded the Plain and the Pass.
- B. Spaniards march to y^e Mount and Halt.
- C. The Spaniards retire to the Top of the mountain.
- D. The Barricade that defended the Pass on the River Side.
- E. The Breastworks on the Side of the Hill.
- F. The Highlanders drawn up before the attack.
- G. A straggling number of Highlanders fire upon the Platoonis of Clayton's and the Monro's behind them in the time of the attack.
- H. A Body of Highlanders going to sustain their Right.
- M. The Flight of the Rebels. The Mount called Skururan the highest in Scotland except Benevis.

A Plan of the Field of Battle that was fought on the 10th of June, 1719 at the Pass of Glenshiells in Kintail, North Britain with the Disposition of his Majesty's Forces under the Command of Major General Waightman and of those of the Rebels.



Laird of Macdougall, Major Mackintosh, and John Mackenzie of Augh [Avoch], ane officer of my L^d Seafort's people. At the pass on the other side of the water was, first, the Spainards, who were hardly 200 men; next in the lyne was Lochiell with about 150 men, and then, from the neighbouring bounds, 150 with 20 volunteers; next, 40 of Rob Roy's men, 50 of Mackinnon's; then about 150 of L^d Seafort's commanded by Sir John Mackenzie of Coull; to the left of all, at a considerable distance, L^d Seafort posted himself with above 200 of his best men, where L^d Marishall and Brig: Campbell of Ormaldale commanded with him. Brig: Mackintosh was with the Spanish Collonell, and L^d Tullibardine and Brig: Campbell of Glenderuell were in the centre, where all imagined the main attaque would happen, it being by far the easiest ground, besides the only way through the Glen. However, it fell out otherways.

The Rebellious forces,¹ who were about 1300

¹ The published official account gives the following disposition of Wightman's force:—'On the Right were posted all the Grenadiers under the Command of Major Milburn, being above 150 in Number, who were sustained by Montague's Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, and a Detachment of 50 Men commanded by Colonel Harrison, the rest of his Regiment being in Garrison at Inverlochy; these were supported by Huffer's Dutch Regiment, and four Companies out of Amerongen's; this [right] Wing had 56 of Lord Strathnaver's Men in the Flank, under the Command of Ensign Mac Cey, and the whole Wing was commanded by Colonel Clayton, who acted as Brigadier upon this Occasion.

'The Left Wing consisted of Clayton's Regiment, commanded

strong, besides near 200 Highlanders,¹ placed their Horse on the low ground, and a Battalion cross the water near them, with most of their Highlanders on their left ; all the rest of their foot were at a distance on a rising ground to the right of the horse. The first attaque² they made was on the men with L^d George, by a small detachment of regular troops with their Highlanders, who fir'd severall times on other without doing much dammage, upon which they sent a second and third detachment, which made most of those on the little hill run to the other side of the steep banks of a rivolet, where L^d George and the few rest were afterwards oblinded to follow, continueing there till all was over, it being uneasie for the Ennimy to come at them. When they found that party give way, their right begun to move in three bodys up the hill, from thence to fall doun on the left of the Highlanders ; but when they

by Lieutenant-Colonel Reading, and had on the Flank above four-score Men of Monroes, under the command of M^r Monroe of Culcairn. The Dragoons, which were 120 in Number, commanded by Major Robertson, and had made their March from Inverness without the loss of so much as one Horse or the least inconvenience to them, were ordered to keep the Road, having four Cohorns placed in their Front. The Major-General [Wightman] himself was posted in the Centre.'—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 284.

¹ The official account gives Wightman eight hundred and fifty foot, one hundred and twenty dragoons, and one hundred and thirty-six Highlanders, a total force of eleven hundred and six men, with four cohorns.—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 284.

² This and other movements in the battle are shown very clearly on Bastide's plan at p. 490.

discover'd L^d Seafort's people who were behind the steep rock, they began to attaque them least they should be flank'd, upon which the Laird of Coull (many of whose men begun to goe off on seeing the Ennemy) march'd with his battallion to sustaine the rest of the Mackenzies, which oblidged the Ennemy to push harder that way, on which Lord Seafort sent down for a further reinforcement; at the same time, Brig: Campbell of Ormadale came, saying it was uncertaine if that main body would not just then fall upon their centre, which made Mackinnon, Rob Roy, and the volunteers, with above 50 more, the longer of drawing of after orders to the Mackenzies' assistance, but seeing them begin to give way, they made all the dispatch they could to sustaine them. However, before they could gett up so as to be fairly in hands with the Ennemy, the most of all L^d Seafort's people were gone off, and himself left wounded in the arme, so that with difficulty he gott out of the place. That detatchment, finding the place abandon'd, begun to retyre likeways, which made them still send fresh supplys from the left, so that Brig: Campbell of Glenderuell with the men out of the neighbouring bounds march'd up from the centre, but seeing everybody retyre before them, occasion'd their doing also the same, tho severall of them, with L^d Marishall and Brig: Campbell of Ormadale, turn'd twice back on Glenderuell's perswasion; the Ennemy, finding all give way on that hand, turn'd their whole force there, which oblidged them to

march up Lochiell and his men, who likewise drew off as others had done. At last Lord Tullibardine with the Spainards were obliged to follow, and none standing to sustaine them, the Ennimy being possessed of the high ground, they could doe nothing, but moved up the same hill as others did towards the left, where at last all begun to run, tho the half had never ane opportunity to fire on the Ennimy, who were soon heartned at seeing some of them once give way and the rest of their people as much discouraged, so that they could never after be brought to anything, but all went entyrelly off till they gott to the top of the mountaine, where it was impossible to bring them into any order, and night soon seperated them all, so that next morning there were hardly anybody seen except some of the Spainards.

*Tullibardine's Letter.*¹

I [had] proposed to my Lord Marshall, Locheill, Brigadier Campbell, and all present, that we should keep in a body with the Spaniards and march thro' the Highlands for some time till we could gather again in case of a Landing, or else should the King send instructions, the Highlanders would then rise and soon make up all that was past. But every body declar'd against doing any thing further, for as

¹ This letter to the Earl of Mar, from the Stuart Papers, is printed in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, pp. 269-73. It is dated from Glen Garry, June 16, 1719. Mar's *Distinct Abridgement*, already quoted, follows it almost literally.

things stood they thought it impracticable, and my Lord Mairshall with Brigadier Campble of Ormondell went off without any more adoe or so much as taking leave. The Spaniards themselves declared they could neither live without bread nor make any hard marches thro' the Country, therefore I was oblig'd to give them leave to Capitulate the best way they could.

Memoir of Marshal Keith, 52.

Don Nicolas Bolano, who commanded the detachment of the regiment of Galicia, offer'd to attack the enemy once more; but the general officers judging the attempt in vain, the first resolution was followed, and accordingly next morning [June 11] the Spaniards surrender'd, on condition their baggage shou'd not be plunder'd,¹ and every body else took the road he liked best.² As I was then sick of a feavour, I was

¹ Wightman's despatch, dated June 11, states:—'I marched this Morning to Glenshill, where I now am, and where a Spanish Officer is come to me with a Proposition from the Spaniards to surrender as Prisoners at Discretion, which I have granted them, and they are to come into our Camp at Two a-Clock this Afternoon.'—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 283. For details as to the treatment of the Spanish prisoners at Edinburgh, where they were confined until their release in October 1719, *vide Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. 23 *et seq.*; *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, liv., 274 *et seq.* They numbered two hundred and seventy-four men, including their officers.—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 285.

² In the engagement Wightman lost one hundred and twenty-one wounded, and twenty-one killed, including Captain Downes of Montague's regiment.—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 284, 285. Cf. *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, lii. Mr. A. H. Millar prints a letter of June 15, 1719 (*Proceedings Soc. Antiq. of Scotland*, vol. vi. N.S., p. 66), whence it appears that the Jacobites lost less

forced to lurk some months in the mountains, and in the beginning of September, having got a ship, I embarked at Peterhead, and 4 days after, landed in Hollande at the Texel.

Though the Chevalier and Ormonde continued in Spain, Alberoni showed no disposition to lend any further countenance to the Jacobite cause. In April 1719 the Chevalier's affianced bride, Princess Clementina, escaped from her confinement at Innspruck. Shortly after, she was married to James by proxy at Bologna, and proceeded to Rome, where the Chevalier joined her in September.¹

In January 1720 Spain was forced to make peace, and to adhere to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. The Jacobites entered upon a dark and hopeless period which lasted until Louis the Fifteenth summoned Prince Charles from Rome to head the '45. Meanwhile, after Glenshiel, General Wightman had taken measures to pacify the disaffected Highland districts.² The Chiefs were in exile, the Highlanders cowed by the ill-success of their efforts to restore the exiled House. George

than ten killed and wounded. Cf. Keith, *Memoir*, 52; *Portland MSS.*, vol. v. 586. Seaforth and Lord George Murray are the only prominent persons mentioned as being wounded.

¹ *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, lv-lvii. For Princess Clementina's escape, vide Mr. Andrew Lang's article on Charles Wogan in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and Dr. J. T. Gilbert's *Narratives of the Detention, Liberation, and Marriage of Maria Clementina Stuart* [Dublin, 1894].

² Wightman's letters and other documents relating to his treatment of the Highlands in 1719 are in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, pp. 274 *et seq.* On June 17 Wightman writes from 'Alderhanon,' 'I . . . am taking a Tour thro' all the difficult parts of Seaforth's Country to terrify the Rebels, by burning the Houses of the Guilty, and preserving those of the Honest. . . . There are no Bodies of the Rebels together, unless stealing Parties in Scores up and down the Mountains.'—*Historical Register*, vol. iv. 285.



PRINCESS MARIA CLEMENTINA

At page 496.

the Second ascended the throne in 1727 without any protest or movement against him by the party which had contested the accession of his predecessor, and Lockhart, laying aside his pen in 1728, was fain to admit that after the intrigues and efforts of a generation, the prospects of the Chevalier were less encouraging than ever, if indeed they were not finally obscured.

Lockhart Papers, ii. 403.

After signing of the præliminarys and King Georges death, all the Kings then schemes and projects were at an end, as the affairs and veiw of almost all the princes of Europe took a quite different turn, and their designs in favor of the King were superceded, and must so remain whilst the ruling powrs continue in this pacific disposition.

And here if wee look into the state of the Kings affairs, they appear with a more dismall aspect than I ever knew them, as he has no prospect of (at least sudden) assistance from abroad. King George the 2d mounted the British throne with the favor of the populace, whither more from that nationall genius which is constantly pleased with noveltys, or out of odium to his father, with whom he was in bad terms, and whom they heartily hated, I shant say ; but so it is, that at first all parties made court to him, and before they began to cool (by discovering the few popular acts he performed were all grimace, as he followd his predecessors measures), he establishd himself by procuring such a Parliament to be elected as consisted of as well disciplined members as those of his powerfull army, both which being made up of

men pickt out and of known zeall to the revolution interest, and truely mercenary, as they were well paid, went thorow stitches to serve him and establish his dominion on the united basis of a military power and legall authority ; whilst at the same time the King, Ime afraid, daylie loses ground. He began the world with the generall esteem of mankind ; evry person, freind and foe, allowd him to be a wise, sober, just, good natured prince, of great knowlege and application in business ; and such as knew him, both forreigners and subjects, concurrd in portending the happiness of that people over whom he shoud rule, and this charactar he mantaind whilst the Duke of Mar was at the head of his affairs after his return from Scotland [1716]. Tis true he was thought to put too much trust and shew too much favor towards His Grace, so as all matters were directed solely by him, wherby the Duke of Ormond and sevrall other persons of quality thought themselves slighted and retired from the Court ;¹ yet still affairs were managed with a good decorum and dexterity, and severall well laid projects carryd on and prudent negotiations set a foot, and people excused the Kings having a byass towards a person that had made so great ane effort for him, and who was certainly a very able minister, tho not free of that ambition which overules the minds of most statesmen, by endeavouring to monopolize all power into their own hands. But soon after Mars re-

¹ Cf. *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, lviii. Ormonde died in 1745.

movall,¹ His Majesties charactar and affairs appeard in a quite different light: great blunders were committed in the execution of affairs in Scotland (and the same was alledged and may be reasonably supposed elsewhere), so that people soon saw that they were not carryd on with the dexterity and secresie as formerlie; but that which struck the nail to the head was his allowing these his favorites (which seems to be a curse in a peculiar manner entaild on the royal race of Stewart) to rule under him in so absolute arbitrary a manner, that for their sake and on their account, the prerogatives of a sovereign and a husband are skrewed up to a pitch not tenable by the laws of God or man, or consistent with prudence; in so far as the royall consort, the mother of the royall issue,² and subjects of the best quality and merit who had served the King with their blood and fortunes, are trampled upon and abused by a parcell of people who never were nor will be capable to do the King any materiall service, and are contemptible in the sight of all that know them, and at last forced to seek a sanctuary in some other place, and on that account deprived of the small pensions they received for supporting themselves, after having lost all for the

¹ Mar was superseded as the Chevalier's Minister in 1724.

² Princess Clementina left the Chevalier and retired to a convent in 1725. For her treatment at the hands of Lord Dunbar and Lord and Lady Inverness, and correspondence relating thereto, *vide Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. 220 *et seq.* Prince Charles had been born in 1720, and Prince Henry in 1725.

King. And as all these continued steps of unaccountable proceedings were contrary to the repeated prayers and remonstrances of his Majesties best freinds, princes and subjects, they gave the world a very unfavorable opinion of his prudence, justice, honour, and gratitude, and highlie discouraged such as were inclined and capable to advise and serve him, and created ane universall despair of ever seeing a probality of better dayes.

And thus whilst no party is acting for his interest, no projects formed, nothing done to keep up the spirits of the people, the old race drops off by degrees and a new one sprouts up, who having no particular byass to the King, as knowing litle more of him than what the public news papers bear, enter on the stage with a perfect indifference, at least coolness towards him and his cause, which consequently must daylie languish and in process of time be tottally forgot. In which melancholy situation of the Kings affairs I leave them in the year 1728.

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